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THE ROAD TO VICTORY

It Lies Through the United States' Program for

WORLD LIBERATION

Agreed to by Her Allies

"The Hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, *only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.*"

President Wilson.

Data Presented By

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY

Director of the Research Institute of Washington, D. C.; Member of United States Supreme Court Bar; President League for World Federation

LEAGUE FOR WORLD FEDERATION
Washington
1918

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THE ROAD TO VICTORY

The withdrawal of Giant Russia from the War, followed by the surrender of a section of the Italian army and the ensuing disaster in that country, along with the massing of the troops of the enemy on the western lines for a big drive before the United States can get many troops into the fight, has produced a severe crisis. Whence lies the road to victory?

We, the Allies, must go straight ahead under full "steam," and at the same time examine into these reverses and the entire situation and profit by what we find.

Herewith we outline the development of the War Aims of the Allies:

DEVELOPMENT OF WAR AIMS OF THE ALLIES.

During the second month of the war the British Premier, Herbert H. Asquith, in a speech declared that the outcome of the awful conflict should be the coming together of the nations of Europe in a federation—the Federation of Europe. This in order that Public Right should prevail—that militarism should be ended, and that the small as well as the large nations should be free to develop their own civilization (page 42, below).

This idea was then developed into a suggestion for World Federation. On May 27, 1916, President Wilson, without using these words, declared for the idea in substance (page 44, below).

Then President Wilson suggested the plan to the party of which he is national leader and it adopted the idea, placing it in its national platform (page 45, below).

The Republican Presidential nominee, Judge Hughes, declared for an international organization in order to attain lasting peace. (Speech of Acceptance).

Then Premier Asquith, greatly pleased that the United States, the Colossus of the West, had thus come around to the idea of World Organization, declared for World Federation (pages 46-47, below).

In the ensuing election in the United States the people continued in office, the President and his party, pledged to the establishment of peace and justice by means of the participation of the United States in a World Organization.

Also the ruling few in Prussia and the German Empire declared for World Organization and lasting peace.

On December 12, 1916, five weeks after the American election, the German autocracy and its allies asked their enemy for a conference to consider peace terms.

President Wilson's Inquiry, Dec. 18, 1917.

Six days after the issuance of the notes by the Central Empires, the President of the United States, through the Secretary of State, Robert Lansing, addressed an identic note to both sets of belligerents *inviting them to state to the world just what they were fighting for—what terms of peace they demanded.* "Never yet have the authoritative statesmen of either side," said the President, "avowed the precise objects which they would, if attained, satisfy them and their people. The world has been left to conjecture what

definite results, what actual exchanges of guarantees, what political or territorial changes or adjustments, what stage of military success even, would bring the war to an end."

President Wilson also called attention to the fact each side had declared its readiness "to consider the formation of *a League of Nations which shall assure peace and justice throughout the world.*"

The Answers by the Belligerents.

The Central Empires responded quickly, but did not declare their war aims. Concerning the much-discussed League of Nations the answer was that the subject would be taken up at the close of the war.

But the Allies came out squarely, as follows:

In the paragraph first devoted to details the joint note says:

"They [the Allies] desire to declare their respect for the lofty sentiments inspiring the American Note AND THEIR WHOLE-HEARTED AGREEMENT WITH THE PROPOSAL TO CREATE A LEAGUE OF NATIONS WHICH SHALL ASSURE PEACE AND JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. They recognize all the benefits which will accrue to the cause of humanity and civilization from the institution of international arrangements designed to prevent violent conflicts between nations, *and so framed as to provide the sanctions necessary to their enforcement*, lest an illusory security should serve merely to facilitate fresh acts of aggression."

The Allies' note concludes as follows:

The Allies' Peace Terms.

"But President Wilson expressed a further wish: he desires the belligerent Powers to state in the full light of day the aims they have set themselves in prosecuting the war. The Allies experience no difficulty in meeting this request. Their aims in this war are well known, for they have been expressed by the heads of the several Governments. These aims can only be formulated in detail, with all the just compensations and indemnities due for the losses suffered, when the moment for negotiation arrives. BUT THE CIVILIZED WORLD KNOWS THAT THEY INCLUDE, PRIMARILY AND OF NECESSITY: [1] the restoration of Belgium, of Serbia, of Montenegro, with the compensations due them; [2] the evacuation of the invaded territories in France, Russia, and Roumania with fitting reparation; [3] the reorganization of Europe, guaranteed by a stable settlement, based alike upon [a] the principle of nationalities—on the right which all peoples, whether small or great, have to the enjoyment of full security and free economic development, and [b] upon territorial agreements and international arrangements so framed as to guarantee land and sea frontiers against unjust attacks;* [4] the restitution of provinces or territories formerly torn from the Allies by force or contrary to the wishes of their inhabitants; [5] the liberation of Italians, Slavs, Roumanians, Czechs, and Slovaks from foreign domination; [6] the liberation of the peoples who now lie beneath the murderous tyranny of the Turks and the expulsion from Europe of the Ottoman Empire, which has proved itself so radically alien to Western civilization.

"The intentions of His Majesty the Emperor of Russia in regard to Poland have been clearly shown in the proclamation which he has just addressed to his armies.

"It is hardly necessary to add that, while it is the wish of the Allies *to rescue Europe from the brutal en-*

---

*SECRET TREATIES. The Entente Allies entered into agreements amongst themselves as to war aims. On Sept. 4, 1914, they agreed that no separate treaty should be made. On April 26, 1915, preparatory to Italy's coming into the war, a territorial agreement was entered into; also that papal influence should not be permitted to regulate questions concerning the war. On March 9, 1917, France and Russia entered into an agreement. These various treaties, most of which were secret, necessarily, have been reviewed by the British Government at various times; for example, on Dec. 3, 1917, in the House of Commons. Disclosures by the Bolsheviki Government in Russia are in press dispatches of Nov. 28 to Dec. 25, 1917.

croachments of Prussian Militarism, IT HAS NEVER BEEN THEIR INTENTION, AS HAS BEEN ALLEGED, TO SEEK THE EXTERMINATION OR THE POLITICAL EXTINCTION OF THE GERMANIC PEOPLES. The chief aim of the Allies is to assure peace on those principles of liberty, justice, and inviolable fidelity to international obligations, which have never ceased to inspire the action of the United States.

"With this high end in view, the Allied Governments are each and all determined to put forth all their strength and to endure every sacrifice in order that they may press to a victorious close a conflict of which, they are convinced, depend not only their own safety and prosperity, but the very future of civilization."

This placed before the world an authoritative statement by the Allies. Thus the United States became possessed of a definite foundation on which to build.

In brief, the principal war aim of the Allies is to help establish "A LEAGUE OF NATIONS WHICH SHALL ASSURE PEACE AND JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD." This peace and justice is to be attained by means of (1) the restoration of the territory seized by Prussian Militarism in this war; (2) fitting reparation for the injuries inflicted upon the Allies; (3) the reorganization of Europe upon the two-fold principles of nationality and of territorial and international agreements; (4) the restitution of provinces or territories formerly torn from the Allies by force or contrary to the wishes of their inhabitants; and (5) the liberation of each of the other captive nations of the Central Empires.

Stated more briefly, the program is the establishment of a League of Nations based upon Nationality to include Equal National Rights.

The United States' Program

On January 22, 1917, ten days after the date of the Allies' answer, the President of the United States went before the Senate and in a statement to the world he set forth the following declaration:

"Gentlemen of the Senate:

" . . . In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that that peace must be followed by SOME DEFINITE CONCERT OF POWER WHICH WILL MAKE IT VIRTUALLY IMPOSSIBLE THAT ANY SUCH CATASTROPHE SHOULD EVER OVERWHELM US AGAIN. Every lover of mankind, every sane and thoughtful man must take that for granted.

. . . . . .

"It is inconceivable that the people of the United States should play no part in that great enterprise. To take part in such service will be the opportunity for which they have sought to prepare themselves by the very principles and purposes of their polity and the approved practices of their Government ever since the days when they set up a new nation in the high and honorable hope that it might in all that it was and did show mankind the way to liberty. They cannot in honor withhold the service to which they are now about to be challenged. They do not wish to withhold it. *But they owe it to themselves and to the other nations of the world to state the conditions under which they will feel free to render it.*

"That service is nothing less than this: to add their authority and their power to the authority and force of other nations to GUARANTEE PEACE AND JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. Such a settlement cannot now be long postponed. It is right that before it comes this Government should frankly formulate the conditions upon which it would feel justified in asking our people to approve its formal and solemn adherence to a League for Peace. *I am here to attempt to state those conditions.*

" . . . The treaties and agreements which bring it [this war] to an end must embody terms which will create a peace that is worth guaranteeing and preserving, a peace that will win the approval of mankind, not merely a peace that will serve the several interests and immediate aims of the nations engaged. . . . *Our judgment upon what is fundamental and essential as a condition precedent to permanency should be spoken now, not afterwards when it may be too late.*

"*No covenant of co-operative peace*

that does not include the peoples of the New World can suffice to keep the future safe against war; AND YET THERE IS ONLY ONE SORT OF PEACE THAT THE PEOPLES OF AMERICA COULD JOIN IN GUARANTEEING. The elements of that peace must be elements that engage the confidence *and satisfy the principles of the American governments*, elements consistent with their political faith and with the practical convictions which the peoples of America have once for all undertaken to defend.

. . . . . .

"*No peace can last, or ought to last, which does not recognize and accept the principle that* GOVERNMENTS DERIVE THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED."

These are the President's words. The basis, he says, must be "government by the consent of the governed," for the entire world, both on the ground of justice for mankind and in order that permanent peace shall be established—the ending of competition in armament and war. In behalf of the need for free peoples throughout the world he said:

"*Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset.* It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquility of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right."

Here is the basis for securing conditions that will result in permanent peace—Free Peoples by means of a League of Nations, on the further basis of Equal National Rights. This latter principle is declared for by the President.

These are stupendous objects—World Liberation:

1. The liberation of the entire world from competition in armament and war —the ending of militarism;

2. The liberation of the world's captive nations;

3. The liberation of all other peoples who are ruled by the few, directly or indirectly; and

4. The liberation of the small nations from threatened extinction.

The attainment of these conditions in the world are the ideals of Free Peoples. The United States came into the war on this basis. In the words of the head of the United States Government, "The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the tested foundations of liberty."

Also President Wilson's words in summing up the reasons for our entry into the war are:

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, *for a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations* AND MAKE THE WORLD ITSELF AT LAST FREE."

The idea is freedom from Militarism, freedom for the world's Captive Nations, freedom for all others who are ruled by the Few, and Equal National Rights. In a word, Peace and Justice throughout the world.

THIS IS THE UNITED STATES' PROGRAM. IT WAS FORMALLY ADOPTED BY THE PEOPLE OF THE NATION IN THE ELECTION OF 1916, AND IS NOW BEING PROCLAIMED ENTHUSIASTICALLY BY THE NATION-IN-ARMS. SUCH ARE OUR WAR AIMS.

This United States' program merely defines the ideal system declared for by the Entente Allies in their joint note of January 10, 1916, namely, "*peace and justice throughout the world*" (page 4, column 1, above). This broad term "peace and justice" was used without defining it, for at that time the Czar of Russia was one of the parties to the Allies' program. Therefore no express mention could be made of Free Peoples—the word used is Nationalities. But when the people of Russia threw off their yoke the British Premier, David Lloyd George, in a telegram to their Govern-

ment, March 22, 1917, asked that the war be continued "until the last stronghold of tyranny on the Continent of Europe is destroyed *and free peoples in all lands* can unite to secure for themselves and their children the blessings of fraternity and peace."

Three months later, June 29th, in a speech at Glasgow he said:

"In my judgment this war will come to an end when the Allied Powers have reached the aims which they set out to attain when they accepted the challenge thrown down by Germany to civilization.

"These terms were set out recently by President Wilson with his unrivalled gift of succinct and trenchant speech. AS SOON AS THESE OBJECTIVES ARE REACHED, AND GUARANTEED, THIS WAR WILL COME TO AN END. But if it comes to an end a single hour before it will be the greatest disaster that has ever befallen mankind. . . .

"This war involves issues upon which will depend the lives of our children and our children's children. Sometimes in the course of human events challenges are hurled from the unknown amongst the sons and daughters of men. Upon the answer which is given to these challenges, and upon the heroism with which the answer is sustained, depends the question whether the world would be better of whether the world would be worse for ages to come. These challenges end in terrible conflicts which bring wretchedness, misery, bloodshed, martyrdom in all its myriad forms to the world, and if you look at the pages of history *these conflicts stand out like great mountain ranges*, such as you have in Scotland—scenes of destruction, of vast conflicts, scarred by the volcanoes which threw them up and drawing blessings from the heavens that fertilize the valleys and the plains perennially far beyond the horizon of the highest peaks. You had such a conflict in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries of the great fight for the rights of men to worship God according to their consciences. The Scottish Covenanters might have given this answer to the challenge. They might have said, 'Let there be peace in our time, O Lord.' They might have said, 'Why should we suffer for privileges that even our fathers never enjoyed? If we win we may never live to enjoy the fruits of it, but we have got to face privations, unspeakable torture, the destruction of our homes, the scattering of our families, shameless death. Let there be peace.' Scotland would have been a thing of no account among the nations. Its hills would have bowed their heads in shame for the people they sheltered. But the answer of the old Scottish Covenanter, the old dying Covenanter Cargill, rings down the ages, even to us at this fateful hour, '*Satisfy your conscience, and go forward.*'

"That was the answer. That conflict was fought in the valleys of Scotland and the rich plains and market-places of England, *where candles were lighted which will never be put out, and on the plains, too, of Bohemia, and on the fields and walled cities of Germany.* There Europe suffered unendurable agonies and miseries, but at the end of it humanity took a great leap forward towards the dawn. Then came the conflict of the eighteenth century, the great fight for the right of men as men, and Europe again was drenched with blood. But at the end of it the peasantry were free, *and democracy became a reality.*

"Now we are faced with the greatest and grimmest struggle of all—liberty, equality, fraternity, not amongst men *but amongst nations;* great, yea small; powerful, yea weak; exalted, yea humblest; Germany, yea Belgium; Austria, yea Serbia — equality, fraternity, amongst peoples as well as amongst men. *That is the challenge which has been thrown to us.*

"Europe is again drenched with the blood of its bravest and best, but do not forget these are the great succession of hallowed causes. *They are the stations of the cross on the road to the emancipation of mankind.* Let us endure as our fathers did. Every birth is an agony, and the new world is born out of the agony of the old world. My appeal to the people of this country, and, if my appeal can reach beyond, it is this—that we should continue to fight for the great goal of International Right and International Justice, so that never again shall brute force sit on the throne of justice, nor barbaric strength wield the sceptre of right."

On July 20, 1917, Premier Lloyd

George in the course of a lengthy speech in Parliament said: "Germany is not going to drive Great Britain out of the fight *until liberty has been established throughout the world.*"

The French Government is equally idealistic. On June 4, 1917, the Chamber of Deputies by a vote of 453 to 55 declared:

"Repudiating all idea of conquest of foreign populations, it [the Government] expects that the efforts of the armies of the Republic and of the Allies shall make it possible to obtain *lasting guarantees of peace and independence for all peoples, great and small, in an organization of the* SOCIETY OF NATIONS [FEDERATION OF THE WORLD] TO BE FORMED AT ONCE."

M. Viviana, of France, former prime minister and one of the French Commissioners to this country, in a speech in the United States Senate, declared that the task in this war is to achieve military dominance and then "to organize the Society of Nations." Continuing he said: "I well know that our enemies, who have never seen before them anything but horizons of carnage, will never cease to jeer at so noble a design. Such has always been the fate of great ideas at their birth; and if thinkers and men of action had allowed themselves to be discouraged by skeptics, mankind would still be in its infancy and we should still be slaves. After material victory we will win moral victory. We will shatter the ponderous sword of militarism; we will establish guarantees of peace; and we can disappear from the world's stage, since we shall leave at the cost of our common immolation the noblest heritage which future generations can possess!"

During September, 1917, the Ribot Ministry in France resigned and was succeeded by the Painleve Ministry. Upon being interpellated it declared itself as favoring the formation of the Society of Nations and would announce to the Chamber its terms of peace as quickly as it could consult with its allies.

AN OBSTRUCTION BY COALITION GOVERNMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY.

Along with the above described development of program for World Liberation there has arisen a most serious obstruction: that of reactionary Coalition Governments in Great Britain, France and Italy. *While they have pledged the United States to aid in the establishment of "peace and justice throughout the world"* THEY HAVE AGREED AMONG THEMSELVES FOR AN EXACTLY OPPOSITE PROGRAM, as we shall show. We also quote two statements by President Wilson in open criticism of the action taken by these Coalition Governments. But as yet the parliaments and peoples of Great Britain, France and Italy have not become sufficiently aware of the facts to restore Liberal Governments.

In the accompanying chapters we present the case for World Liberation, grouping the facts of history, including President Wilson's arguments. We believe that this is the first book wherein is described *The Development of the Federal State, including World Federation.*

As to our qualifications for accurately describing this broad field, we will state that during the past twenty-three years we have devoted our time and energies to the advancement of practical reforms in the United States, having assisted in each of the main movements. This after having graduated in law in 1887, followed by the rapid accumulation of a modest fortune and then the study of the social sciences at the University of Chicago.

Our method has been to trace the lines of human development—racial, political, industrial and social. Each point in this volume is based on the best evidence attainable. The subject matter is outlined in the accompanying table of contents.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY.

The Research Institute,
Washington, D. C., January 25, 1918.

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THE ROAD TO VICTORY

It Lies Through the United States' Program for

WORLD LIBERATION

Agreed to by Her Allies

Division I.

WORLD LIBERATION IS THROUGH WORLD FEDERATION.

Part I.

DEVELOPMENT A LAW OF NATURE.

The master key to an understanding of all social phenomena, including this World War, is to realize that development—evolution, is a law of nature. This fact is conclusively shown in the world's history—written and unwritten. In the accompanying pages we outline the *process of human development*, thereby leading up to the vital present-day problems.

Part II.

THE PROCESS OF MAN'S DEVELOPMENT.

Social development is shown within the period of written history. Vast progress has taken place during the period wherein accurate details of civilizations are depicted.

These details show the process of man's development. It has been the coming into being of race after race, each one possessing added traits. The latest race is the Aryan or white race.

Within the white race there are five great sub-races, each more advanced than the preceding one; and within each sub-race there are various nationalities.

The latest sub-race is the Teutonic, which includes the Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians.

A fact of momentous importance is that *not until the coming into existence of this Teutonic sub-race was there a really self-governing people.* The earliest written history we have of this branch of the white race is the statement by Julius Caesar while he was campaigning against them. A century later was written a more complete description by Tacitus in the little volume *Germania.*

It appears that in the German forests the young men upon attaining manhood were emancipated—given their freedom by their parents; where-

as among the earlier peoples the father guided his family, including his male descendants and their families, as long as he lived.* But in the German forests there existed a people wherein the adults ruled themselves, aided by parental and other advice.

In public affairs the men were associated on a plane of equality; while within the families the wife was the equal of the husband, and a new tie existed between husband and wife among the masses—romantic love. The marriage tie was kept more sacredly than among the earlier peoples.

The public gatherings of importance were opened by prayer, as at present. These people were farther advanced spiritually than any preceding nationality. Also greater truthfulness existed.

Self-government existed in civic affairs, as we have said. The states were small, not larger than our present-day counties, so that the men assembled and directly attended to state affairs—legislative and judicial, electing for the coming year an executive committee. In each community the men met together and attended to the local affairs, including the distribution of the temporary use of the land. The citizens who attended these meetings were usually armed with spear and shield and, therefore, at the local meetings wherein important questions were decided the presiding officer was a representative of the state, attended by a group of armed citizens to preserve order.

Some of the states were Republics and some were Kingdoms; but the king's authority was merely that of national leader, without a veto power. He was elected from a certain family and all of the male members therein were eligible. The king served the people subject to recall at any time and the election of a successor.

Here we see a new type of manhood and womanhood. Among their shortcomings were drunkenness and gambling.

Early in the Christian era *when the population in the Roman Empire—the fourth sub-race—was shrinking, there occurred within the fifth sub-race a rapid multiplication of self-governing peoples, accompanied by emigration.* At first they sifted in among the Roman states and then they poured in in conquering streams. This was from the 3d to the 9th centuries, A. D.

Wherever they went they applied their freedom-giving institutions among themselves, and among their subjects they recognized the existing customs. Also they honorably intermarried with their subjects—the Romans, Greeks and Gauls, thereby forming new nationalities, possessing the needed spirit of liberty and other of the higher qualities of the Teutons, and partaking of the art and culture of the great Keltic people's, the fourth sub-race of the white stock.

Thus arose the peoples who to-day inhabit FRANCE, BELGIUM, SWITZERLAND, PORTUGAL, SPAIN, ITALY, GREECE AND ROUMANIA. THEY ARE OF SELF-GOVERNING STOCK.

In the island of Britain the Roman legions were withdrawn to protect the empire from the Teutons, which weakened the Britons, who invited some of the Teutons in the German forests to come over and help them expel the invaders who had come in upon them from the surrounding territory. *The Teutons from the mainland came over and the reports they sent home of the fertile soil and balmy air attracted other Teutons,* SOME OF WHOM CAME IN ARMED BANDS AND EITHER KILLED OR DROVE BACK THE BRITONS. In this way the southern portion of Britain became "a Germany outside of Germany" and so continued for five hundred years; and then the invaders came from Scandinavia and Normandy *and were of self-governing stock.*

The Teutonic invaders in Britain came in armed bands, as we have said,

*The name given to the above described power in the Roman father was *patria potestas.*

and when the spoils were divided, principally the land, the larger part was taken by the military leader, which established economic *inequality* and to such a degree that in the second generation it resulted in the title of King, but it was a limited authority, owing to the liberty-loving traits of the people.

Gradually the miniature kingdoms were amalgamated, forming a FEDERAL STATE—A NEW THING ON EARTH. *Each community possessed self-government in local affairs, and so did each county, with the king at the head of the state government—the national government.* Unity among the Anglo-Saxons in Britain came first in the Church and then in the State.

In Southern and Western Europe the inflow of the self-governing stock resulted in Feudalism, which broke up the Absolute Monarchy of Rome *and thus brought on an interruption to the peace and order that had resulted from the one government.* This era of the changed system is described as the Dark Ages, owing to the absence of an over-arching government—anarchy existed between the miniature states. Gradually an amalgamation of the small states took place, resulting in FEDERAL STATES — STATES POSSESSING LOCAL HOME RULE TO SOME EXTENT, THE KING BEING AT THE HEAD OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT. THUS THE SELF-GOVERNING STOCK PRESERVED TO SOME EXTENT THEIR NATIVE LIBERTIES. The continual development of the area of the states and the continuance of anarchy between the states prevented the establishment of full self-government within the nations. An exception was the United States of America, where the full-blooded self-governing stock established real self-government during 1776 to 1783, and continued it until towards 1844, when there appeared the accumulated results of a low-grade immigration in the form of a debased system of party government—Machine Rule, which became dominant in national affairs in 1844.*

But throughout the world during the past eighteen years—1899-1917—a wonderful series of political events have taken place: AMONG THE PEOPLES OF SELF-GOVERNING STOCK THERE HAS ACTUALLY BEEN ESTABLISHED SELF-GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE! For the first time since the emigration of the early Germans from Central and Northern Europe during the 3rd to the 9th centuries and the amalgamation of sub-races and the development of the area of the state, *the People have quite generally come back into power.*

Before we give the dates of these epoch-making revolutions we herewith outline something of the history of the people of Southeastern and Central Europe.

Obstructions to Progress in South-Eastern and Central Europe.

In the portion of Europe nearest Asia the Teutonic sub-race has had to face the Huns, *of the yellow race.* Time after time these fierce tribes of a lower stage of development have broken into Europe and have swept across vast areas. During these times they have killed the men of the self-governing stock and violated their women, *resulting in the mixing of the races and a caste system.* This is the Slavonic,

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*In 1844 the existence of a debased system of Party Government in the Democratic organization in the United States was pointed out by John C. Calhoun in an address to the people withdrawing from the contest for the Presidential nomination. When the delegates to the Democratic National Convention assembled a majority refused to be bound by their instructions and their pledges, *and thus true self-government by the people in the United States came to an end.* The details were described by Senator Benton after he had retired from public life. He aimed to restore the people's rule and thus ward off civil war. This he states in the closing chapter of his invaluable two-volume work, *Thirty Years in the United States Senate,* chapters 136, 137.

Lithuanian, Finnish, Hungarian and Prussian nationalities. They vary greatly in the different sections of Europe and Siberia. One of the physical elements of this mixed type is a tendency towards a round head, acquired from the Asiatic progenitors, as compared with the long head of the Aryans.*

The Prussians are of this mixed stock, as we have said, added to which during the past four hundred years have been two terribly debasing factors: (1) the occurrence of long and hard-fought wars which killed off the more courageous of the men, destroyed the schools and in other ways debased the civilization; and (2) the presence of despotism which drove forth the liberty-loving people. When Napoleon went into Prussia the lower class, the peasants, were *serfs*. Later they were given the right to move about, *but still they were held as political slaves and such is their condition to-day.* Even though they have witnessed the recent liberation of the people of Russia they still remain in bondage; and even though told by the United States and the rest of their armed opponents that war against them will cease if they will but assert their manhood, *still they remain in bondage!* The explanation is their undeveloped condition, due to the causes we have outlined. This phase of the situation is little understood amongst us so we very briefly describe it.

In the preceding pages we have outlined the development of self-governing peoples and the obstructions met with from the breaking into Europe of the yellow race, plus the terrible experiences of the people of Prussia during the past 400 years, resulting in a peasantry vastly different from anything which the world has ever possessed. Evidences of this unusual type will presently appear.

In 1848, when the people of the eastern half of the continent in Europe came suddenly into power almost without exertion on their part, they all were in a short time back into servitude owing to their inability to develop self-government; whereas in England there existed a progressive Representative Government. In Prussia the people were clothed with more political power than they formerly possessed, yet they were ruled by the few as with a rod of iron and there followed again an exodus of the liberty-loving. Our United States received many of these patriots—the Revolutionists of 1848.

In 1858, during a period of rising prices throughout the world, accompanied by progressiveness in every direction, the *Liberals in Prussia came into power.* The king appointed a Liberal Ministry. Soon, however, he recommended a considerable increase in the Prussian army and the idea was not accepted. He named a Conservative Ministry and it failed to get the consent of the people's representatives. He dissolved Parliament and appealed to the people *who returned a Liberal majority, opposed to the plan.*

Then Herbert von Bismarck suggested to the king that he name a ministry that should rule for a time without the consent of the House and establish the increase in the army. The king appointed Bismarck to do the deed and he accomplished it. He did so without shedding a drop of blood *owing to the co-operation of the Socialists.* THEY REFUSED TO CO-OPERATE WITH THE LIBERALS, THEREBY ENABLING THE CONSERVATIVES TO DEFEAT THEM.

This aid to the Conservatives—the Reactionists—came from the least developed class in Prussia, the peasant class, *the descendants of those who were not possessed of self-governing*

*Prof. T. N. Huxley, in Nineteenth Century, November, 1890, pp. 759-760; Encyclopædia Britannica, title Slavs; Evolution and War, by Dr. P. Chalmers Mitchell, pp. 51, 60, 64. Dr. Mitchell states that this mixed race "of a lower civilization would swamp Europe were it not in fact held in check by the German or Teutonic race." (Page 59; see also page 77, below.)

qualities. Themselves political slaves, they were possessed of the idea that they should secure self-government by refusing to co-operate with the middle class—the property-owners and people of initiative and achievement. Thus Reactionism misled them. An equally misleading fallacy of these Prussian slaves was that when they should secure the control of the Government they would use it to at once take into their own possession *all* of the property of the nation by means of immediate government ownership and operation of all the means of production and distribution, and force all of their former masters and their families into the ranks of government employees—a system of industrial slavery for everyone.

This was the program of political slaves, of so base a type that Reactionism succeeded in imbedding these ideas in their thoughts.

One of the ways whereby Reactionism forged additional chains was through a provision in the Socialist Party platform that *a member of the party must never scratch the ticket—never co-operate with the Liberals.*

Still another chain which firmly bound them to Reactionism was the enunciation of the principle that the Working Class—the property-less class and a class without the qualities which result in initiative and achievement—*that this class should refuse to co-operate with those who possess these qualities and possess property.* This is the Class-Conscious idea.

This was the Prussian Peasant Program which defeated Liberalism in Prussia in 1862 and helped to start Prussian Militarism.

As soon as the Prussian army was enlarged a quarrel was picked with Denmark by Bismarck and the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein were forcibly taken. Then a quarrel ensued between Prussia and Austria as to the disposition of the booty. In the German Diet the majority sided with Austria and ordered the troops of the Confederation to be mobilized against Prussia. But Prussia defeated them and annexed the German provinces of Hanover, Electoral Hesse, Nassau and Frankfort, as well as Schleswig and Holstein. Bismarck would have taken more of the German states but was prohibited by Napoleon III., of France.

Austria was excluded from German politics, and the four German states south of the Main—Bavaria, Wurtemberg, Baden and Hesse—became independent and were expressly left at liberty to form a separate union.

Four years later, 1870, Bismarck picked a quarrel with Napoleon III. and utterly defeated him, annexed Alsace and Lorraine and exacted a huge cash contribution, also he swept into his organization the four German states to the south of the Main. In connection with these changes he wrote a new constitution making Prussia the dominant state and the King of Prussia the Emperor, and the emperor proclaimed it. Such in brief is the history of the making of the German Empire up to 1871.

In the drafting of this constitution Bismarck demonstrated that he knew the people for whom it was to be used. Four years before the Social Democrats (Socialists) had eight members in the North German Federation and at the first election after the formation of the German Empire they cast 125,000 votes. Bismarck stated in the constitution that *the Emperor might alone declare a foreign war provided he should state it to be a defensive war.* Manhood suffrage for the national lower house was established, *because the Prussian peasants were known to aid the Conservatives,* as we have seen. The middle-class vote was the Liberal vote. The people's representatives in Parliament — the lower house, the Reichstag, *were to serve without pay from the state;* also there was no secret ballot nor stringent laws against corruption. Within the confederation the Prussian Military State secured such a position that "she rules Ger-

many with the advice and assistance of the other States." (President Lowell of Harvard University.)

Unexpectedly, however, the enlarged Prussian Government, owing to a contest with the Roman Church, received the support of the Liberals and the Radicals, but not the Socialists. This contest is termed the *Kulturkampf* or War of Progress, 1871 to 1884.

Beginning in 1873, the gold standard countries experienced falling prices, owing to a shrinking volume of money, and the falling prices resulted in a growing industrial depression. The Socialists, though, claimed that the increase in unemployment was caused by the competitive system, and their numbers increased rapidly. During 1875 the Emperor was shot at and Bismarck brought in a bill to limit free speech and free press. The Liberal Reichstag refused to pass it until most of the drastic provisions had been stricken out. Three years later, 1878, the industrial conditions had become exceedingly bad and the Socialists were sure that they possessed the remedy. Bismarck again insisted upon the ending of free institutions *in order to prevent a worse fate—the success of the Socialists.* The Liberal Reichstag again refused and the Emperor dissolved it and ordered an election. Again he was shot at and this time seriously wounded. *At the polls enough of the Liberals were defeated to secure a Conservative majority* AND IT PROCEEDED TO END FREE INSTITUTIONS IN GERMANY. The executive authority for the shutting off of the Socialist program was vested in the Upper House AND IT PROCEEDED TO SAVE THE GERMAN CIVILIZATION BY FORCIBLY PREVENTING THE SOCIALISTS FROM CARRYING ON THEIR PROPAGANDA. The situation was as though the Prussian peasants were planning to put out a fire by pouring on kerosene. Then the Conservative European Governments—all were of that character—ended the depression by quietly increasing the volume of money in use*, resulting in rising prices and profitable business *and thus the unemployed were set to work.*

This enabled the Conservatives to carry various elections by claiming that the return of prosperity was due to other causes. This was in 1880-1882.

Then the Conservative Governments again set about to continue the shrinkage in the volume of money, to benefit the creditor class—increase the purchasing power of money and of debts. But again business became a losing venture, bankruptcies increased and vast numbers of unemployed demanded bread. *In England during the prosperous times the Liberal party had come back into power.* It appointed a commission to ascertain the cause of the industrial depression. The commission quickly reported that the money question should be looked into and more deeply than it was authorized to do and recommended the appointment of a larger commission. This was forthwith done; *but soon the Liberal Government was turned out of office at an election and the Conservative Government, when the commission unanimously reported, refused to do anything.*

During this time the Socialist vote in Prussia and elsewhere mounted upwards. The Liberals were out of power in practically every country in the world, *and the Socialists refused to co-operate with them to prevent a shrinking volume of money and falling prices.* THUS THE SOCIALISTS CONTINUED TO HELP THE CONSERVATIVES.

In 1896 the election in the United States was so close and business conditions so bad that again the Conservative European Governments set about to quietly increase the volume of money in use.† Again prices rose and

*The Money Question, by George H. Shibley, pp. 383-384; also Mr. Shibley's statement at Senate hearing on Federal Reserve Bill, 1913, pp. 1748-1750.

†Momentous Issues, by George H. Shibley, pp. 10-11; also Mr. Shibley's statement at Senate hearing on Federal Reserve Bill, 1913, pp. 1751-1752.

industrial activity reappeared; also the output of gold from the mines had for some time been increasing tremendously, due to improved methods of extraction. Prices continued to rise and industrial activity continued to increase. *In the 1898 election in the United States the creditor class was defeated by the trust magnates, who in 1900 secured the passage of a law increasing the volume of paper currency, on top of a flood of gold money.* The increase in the volume of money and rising prices continued year after year, except as interfered with by an occasional panic for money and falling prices.

A rising price level always enlarges the profits of the business men and farmers, giving employment to nearly all of the people. *Always these are progressive eras.* This was no exception. A most remarkable series of progressive political changes took place ESTABLISHING IN MOST OF THE LEADING COUNTRIES OF THE WORLD, FULL SELF-GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE! Heretofore whenever a Liberal Government had come into power it usually had been composed of a minority, due to the stage of development, *but now a majority of the people have come into power in many countries.* THUS FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE THE EXERCISE OF SELF-GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE IN THE GERMAN FORESTS, SOME 1500 YEARS AGO, THIS SAME LIBERTY-GIVING SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN RESTORED GENERALLY. Following are the principal dates:

1899-1914, A World-Wide Revolution for Democracy.

In France in 1899 the change occurred in connection with the Dreyfus case. In the Chamber of Deputies enough of the Socialists voted with the Liberals to defeat the Conservatives who had unjustly convicted Dreyfus and were opposing the coming of the people into power. A great uproar took place among the Socialists, but a vast majority soon came around to where they realized that their own liberties were being promoted and they officially endorsed the coalition, and have since continued to do so. *The French people are of self-governing stock.*

The next year after this crisis in France, in Australia enough of the Labor Unionists and Socialists combined with the Liberals to install a real People's Government. In New Zealand some years earlier a coalition had taken place between the Liberals and the wage-earners, but they were unable for many, many years to control the Senate. In Switzerland the change had been coming since 1831.

In Russia in 1905 the people came into power for a time, but they made such poor use of this power that they soon gave way to the need for more stable conditions.

The next year after this Russian Revolution the people of Great Britain came peacefully into power. It came through a coalition of the Liberal. Labor and Irish parties, aided by the Fabian Socialists. Forthwith the Boers in South Africa, whom the British Conservative Government had forcibly seized and were holding in subjection, were given their freedom. So well did they use it that soon there was formed into one autonomous dominion the South African Union, and when there arose the world conflict for liberty in 1914 the Boers stood with the British Government and so did the Irish Nationalists. Said John Redmond: "One democracy has made a treaty with another democracy and we are true to our word!"

In 1906, the same year that freedom came to the British Isles, in China, peopled by the yellow race, a promise was issued by the Absolute Monarchy that there was to be established Parlimentary Government, *and it has since materialized and in connection with a Republic*—even China has become a Republic! Self-government by the people of China is on its way.

In Japan a start in Parliamentary Government was made in 1878. After

many years a system of Proportional Representation was established, lessening the bitterness in the campaign and giving representation to the voters in accordance with their numbers, adding tremendously to the stability of the Government.

The year 1906 is also notable as witnessing the enfranchisement in Austria of her captive peoples—the Slavs and the Italians. The aged emperor, Francis Joseph, helped to secure this peaceful change. A fairly good representation in the lower house was established.

Also in 1906 the people of Norway secured a Liberal Government and withdrew from the confederation with Sweden, and the following year enfranchised the women.

The next year, 1907, in both Belgium and Holland the Liberals came into power. In both countries the Socialists co-operated with the Liberals in establishing the change.

In 1908 in Turkey the Absolute Monarchy was over-thrown almost without bloodshed by the Young Turks and there was restored the constitution of 1876, and an election of members of the chamber of deputies was ordered. "For a time the insurgent bands disappeared in Macedonia, and the rival 'nationalities'—Greek, Albanian, Turk, Armenian, Servian, Bulgarian and Jew —worked harmoniously together for the furtherance of common constitutional aims. Kiamil Pasha, an advanced Liberal, became grand vizer, and a new cabinet was formed, including a Greek, Prince Mavrocordato; an Armenian, Nouradounghian, and the Sheikh-ul-Islam."*

The following year, 1909, in Sweden, the people secured the enfranchisement of men and proportional representation.

The next year, 1910, the people came into power in Italy, Spain, Portugal, Southern Germany and in the National House of Representatives in the United States.

Two years later, 1912, the people in the United States captured the Senate and the Presidency and re-elected a majority in the House. The conservative party cast only 27 per cent. of the total vote and did not cast a majority in any state, and only a plurality in two small states—Utah and Vermont.

The year 1912 also witnessed a people's victory in national affairs in Prussia and the rest of the German Empire. The extortions of the conservative parties had so exasperated the people that *for the first time in Prussia there was a coalition of the Liberals with the Socialists and they cast two-thirds of the votes and elected slightly more than a majority of the lower house, the Reichstag,* PLEDGED TO INSTALL RESPONSIBLE GOVERNMENT OR A REPUBLIC.

LOOKING BACK FOR THE PAST EIGHTEEN YEARS WE SEE A WORLD-WIDE SWEEP FOR DEMOCRACY—SELF-GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE, TAKING THE PLACE OF THE RULE OF THE FEW. Up to 1914 it was almost bloodless, due in most instances to the possession of the ballot by the people. Before this time they had voted but had not ruled; NOW THE ORGANIZED WAGE-EARNERS BECAME A BALANCE OF POWER, ALONG WITH IMPROVED METHODS IN GOVERNMENTAL MACHINERY, PLUS THE ELECTION OF CANDIDATES WHO HAVE IN THE MAIN CARRIED OUT THEIR PLEDGES.

The Causes of the World War.

In 1914 the war was started by the ruling few in Prussia and Austria-Hungary who were trying to stay in power.

Two years before, 1912, the Prussian Liberals for the first time voted for Socialist Representatives, and vice versa, and thus two-thirds of the people of the German Empire joined together pledged to democratize the nation, end the rule of the Few. More than a majority of the members in

*Encyclopædia Britannica, title Turkey.

the Reichstag were thus elected.* It looked as though a Constitutional Monarchy was about to be established, or a Republic.

But trouble arose as soon as the election was past. The Socialists who in the campaign had *not* stressed their program for the immediate government ownership of everything *now laid emphasis upon it,* as is evidenced by the fact that the German Socialist Congress later in the year expelled Herr Hildebrandt *because "in a recent volume on industrialism he expressed a doubt as to the possibility of nationalizing* ALL *production without exception."*†

Certain it is that THE LIBERALS WITHDREW FROM THE COALITION AND WENT HEAD-ON AGAINST THE SOCIALISTS BY JOINING WITH THE CONSERVATIVES AND THE OTHER PROPERTY OWNERS, VOTING TO INCREASE THE GOVERNMENT'S ARMAMENT. This occurred during the first half of 1912, and again in 1913, *and then as soon as the enlargement of the Kiel Canal was completed in 1914* A FOREIGN WAR WAS DECLARED. Three main objects were in view:

(1) *The acquiring of vast wealth by conquest.* Practically everyone in Prussia and the rest of Germany believed that they would succeed, and there was an immense enthusiasm for the enterprise.*

(2) *Another object of the governing class was to get rid of the menace of the Socialists.* For this the Liberals had withdrawn from the coalition with them, because the Liberals had found out that the Socialists were still obsessed by the idea of carrying out their program. The starting of a foreign war would at once put an end to the plan for a time, at least, and fill their minds with patriotic thoughts. Should the war succeed—as everyone believed it would**—the resulting problems would help to keep down the Socialists; and should the war fail it still would be so destructive of the Socialists (who had been deliberately placed in the army while excusing one-third of the population†) that they as

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*The total of the Socialist and Liberal vote was 7,400,000, as against 3,500,000 in the Conservative and Clerical parties. The Socialist representation leaped from 53 members in the Reichstag, to 110, a gain of more than 100 per cent. in a single election. And in the Reichstag 22 of the 44 National Liberals voted for the Marxian Socialist leader, Herr Bebel, for President of the House. Ten of the National Liberals voted blank tickets. In the Legislatures in the German States the Socialist members increased from 110 to 224. In the Reichstag the majority that had supported the Government was extinct. Its 236 votes out of 397 were replaced by a majority of National Liberals, Radicals, and Social Democrats holding 206 seats.

†International Year Book (Dodd, Mead & Co.) for 1912, p. 664.

*See page 77, below.

**In the words of George B. McClellan, former mayor of New York and professor of economic history in Princeton University, who visited Germany: "What is even more impressive than the economic strength of the German Empire is the confidence of the German people in the outcome of the war. During the time I was in Germany I talked with a great number of Germans in all walks and conditions of life. All alike expressed the same absolute certainty of German victory. It is not a matter of opinion or of hope with them, but a feeling that it is no more possible for Germany to lose than it is for the sun to set in the west." (The Heel of the War, p. 23.)

†In the words of an article on *Conscription* in the Encyclopaedia Britannica: "To meet this danger from the Socialist vote in Germany it was determined in 1893 to increase the annual contingent whilst diminishing the duration of the color service *from three to two years so that approximately two-thirds of the men available would pass through the ranks,* it being held that the habit of obedience to constituted authority acquired in the army, together with the silent influence which

a class would be much less harmful. Bear in mind that the Liberals were actually threatened by all the horrors of a possible civil war and of a more terrible character than had ever devastated France, owing to the brutal character of the lower classes in Prussia, *as is evidenced by the terrible actions of their men against the women and children in Belgium and France.*

3. *A third object was to defeat freedom for their captive Slavs.* Either a war must be started against the Slavs or they would start one against their oppressors in Hungary, Austria and Germany (details are in a later section). *Military necessity (as long as competition in armament should exist) absolutely required that the captive nations must be held.* There are—or were—41 millions of captives in Germany, Austria and Hungary, plus Bulgaria and Turkey; as compared with 72 millions of Prussians and Germans, 10 million Hungarians, 3 million Bulgars, and probably 10 million Turks, a total of 95 millions, *most of whom are themselves political slaves, ruled by a military oligarchy of their own people. Should the captive nations escape from their captors then the military strength of Germany and Austria-Hungary would become so reduced that the Slavs would become the stronger nation, added to which would be France and Great Britain; and, worse still for Germany and Austria-Hungary, their undeveloped masses with their plan for reaction would be almost sure to come into power.* THEREFORE IN PRUSSIA THE LIBERALS COMBINED WITH THE CONSERVATIVES TO BUILD UP THE NATION'S ARMAMENT AND THEN START A FOREIGN WAR, WHICH CAME OFF ON SCHEDULE TIME.

Here are some of the direct evidences:

A Foreign War Was Planned.

June, 1912, a writer in the *Fortnightly Review*, London, who signed himself *Politicus*, said:

"The responsibility for the strained relations existing between Germany and Britain is solely due to the German Government, *which has deliberately created the present position.* The German Government has embittered Anglo-German relations and brought the two nations to the brink of war by trying to destroy Great Britain's naval supremacy and by entering upon a campaign of calumny and villification which is probably unparalleled in history."

Showing the length to which the British Liberal Government went in 1912 to get an agreement by the Kaiser to keep the peace, the following statement was handed to his Chancellor from the British Cabinet:

"Britain declares that she will neither make nor join in any unprovoked attack upon Germany. Aggression upon Germany is not the subject, and forms no part of any treaty, understanding, or combination to which Britain is now a party; nor will she become a party to anything that has such an object."*

This pledge by the British Govern-

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could be exercised by ex-soldiers and the reservists and by the sympathy and example of their former commanders of all ranks, *formed the best possible guarantee against the undue spread of Socialist doctrine.*"

Under this system one-third of the available men have been excused continuously, and, as the ones who have done the excusing have been the representatives of the Kaiser, it follows that they have *not* excused the Socialists nor those most inclined to adopt their views. Thus a system has existed *whereby the Socialist voters and their sympathizers have been grouped together in the army, and, in case of war with the neighboring countries, they would be the ones to be rushed to the front and would be obliged to bear the brunt of the fight.* IN THIS WAY A LARGE PROPORTION COULD BE KILLED SHOULD THEY BECOME TOO MUCH OF A MENACE. AND, OWING TO THE POWER IN THE EMPEROR TO DECLARE WAR, THE WAY WAS KEPT OPEN TO QUICKLY AND EFFECTIVELY BRING ON A FOREIGN WAR.

*Liberal Magazine, p. 684, 1914.

ment did not satisfy the German absolutist—absolute in his power to declare war. His Government asked the British Government to pledge itself "*absolutely to neutrality in the event of Germany being engaged in war*—and this, mind you, at a time when Germany was enormously increasing both her aggressive and defensive resources, and especially on the sea." These are the words of the British Prime Minister in an address at Cardiff on October 2, 1914, and he continued:

"*They asked us for a free hand, so far as we were concerned,* IF AND WHEN THEY SELECTED THE OPPORTUNITY TO OVERBEAR, TO DOMINATE THE EUROPEAN WORLD. To such a demand but one answer was possible, and that was the answer we gave. None the less we have continued during the whole of the past two years, and never more energetically and more successfully than during the Balkan crisis of last year, to work not only for the peace of Europe, but for the creation of a better international atmosphere, and a more cordial co-operation between all the powers."

On March 17, 1913, the French Ambassador at Berlin wrote to his Government, saying:

"The Imperial German Government is constantly rousing patriotic sentiment. Every day the Emperor delights to revive memories of 1813. Yesterday evening a military tattoo went through the streets of Berlin, and speeches were delivered in which the present situation was compared to that of a hundred years ago." A hundred years before the conditions were just the reverse, France being the aggressor.

June, 1913, the German Government brought into the Reichstag six bills to greatly increase the armament, and providing that not a penny of the cost should touch the wage-earners. *These bills were passed* "AND THE LEADERS OF BOTH THE NATIONAL, LIBERAL AND THE [CLERICAL] CENTRE WERE CONGRATULATED EFFUSIVELY BY THE CHANCELLOR."*

Here is complete proof that the Liberals who, in 1912, had joined with the Socialists were now opposing them, voting with the Conservatives for a large increase in the armament, and this at a time when the neighboring countries were anxious to lessen the expenditures for armament.

Five months later, the French Ambassador at Berlin wrote home:

"I have received from an absolutely reliable source an account of a conversation which took place a fortnight ago between the Emperor and the King of Belgium, in the presence of the Chief of the General Staff—General von Moltke. This conversation, it appears, has made a profound impression on King Albert. I am in no way surprised at the impression he gathered, which corresponds with what I have myself felt for some time. *Enmity against us is increasing,* AND THE EMPEROR HAS CEASED TO BE THE FRIEND OF PEACE.

"The person addressed by the Emperor had thought up till then, as did all the world, that William II., whose personal influence had been exerted on many critical occasions in support of peace, was still in the same state of mind. HE FOUND HIM THIS TIME COMPLETELY CHANGED. THE GERMAN EMPEROR IS NO LONGER IN HIS EYES THE CHAMPION OF PEACE AGAINST THE WARLIKE TENDENCIES OF CERTAIN PARTIES IN GERMANY. *William II. has come to think that war with France is inevitable, and that it must come sooner or later.* Naturally, he believes in the crushing superiority of the German Army *and in its certain success.*

"General von Moltke spoke exactly in the same strain as his sovereign. He, too, declared war to be necessary and inevitable, but he showed himself still more assured of success, 'for,' he said to the King, 'this time the matter must be settled, and your Majesty can have no conception of *the irresistible enthusiasm with which the whole German people will be carried away when that day comes.*'

"The King of the Belgians protested that it was a travesty of the intentions of the French Government to interpret them in that sense; and to let oneself be misled as to the sentiments of the French nation by the ebullitions of a

*International Year Book, 1913, title Germany.

few irresponsible spirits or the intrigues of unscrupulous agitators.

"The Emperor and his Chief of the General Staff nevertheless persisted in their point of view.

"During the course of this conversation the Emperor moreover seemed overstrained and irritable. As WILLIAM II. ADVANCES IN YEARS, FAMILY TRADITIONS, THE REACTIONARY TENDENCIES OF THE COURT, AND ESPECIALLY THE IMPATIENCE OF THE SOLDIERS, OBTAIN A GREATER EMPIRE OVER HIS MIND. . . .

"Emperor William is less master of his impatience than is usually supposed. I have known him more than once to allow his real thoughts to escape him. Whatever may have been the object of the conversation related to me, the revelation is none the less of extreme gravity. It tallies with the precariousness of the general situation and with the state of a certain shade of public opinion in France and Germany.

"If I may be allowed to draw a conclusion, I would submit that it would be well to take account of this new factor, namely, that THE EMPORER IS BECOMING USED TO AN ORDER OF IDEAS WHICH WERE FORMERLY REPUGNANT TO HIM."*

These inside facts show the Kaiser's state of mind, and, *coupled with his desperate political straits and those of the rest of the ruling few, Conservatives and Liberals,* DEMONSTRATE THAT THEY HAD MADE UP THEIR MINDS TO START A FOREIGN WAR.

This attitude of mind was strengthened by current events. Shortly after the Kaiser and his Chief of Staff had endeavored to win to their side the Belgian King there occurred the Zabern incident. The Prussian military commander in Alsace-Lorraine acted with exceeding brutality towards the civilians at Zabern and the affair came up in the Reichstag. The Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, defended the military department *and the Reichstag cast a majority vote criticising him. The country applauded, showing its deep-seated opposition to militarism and the reigning few;* ALSO THE NEW SPIRIT IN DARING TO CRITICISE THE KAISER'S REPRESENTATIVE DEMONSTRATED A SPIRIT OF REVOLUTION. The following day the troops were ordered from Zabern and the Chancellor asserted his responsibility to be to the Emperor.

Early in 1914 the Kaiser's representative, Chancellor von Bethmann-Hollweg, openly declared the Government's intention "to fight the menace of Socialism." In April *"The Central Committee of the National Liberal party issued a command that hence forth National Liberal candidates in election contests* MUST REFRAIN FROM MAKING ANY PROMISES TO ANY OTHER PARTIES, AND, ABOVE ALL, TO THE SOCIAL DEMOCRATS."*

The Socialists replied to both of these declarations of war by staying in the Reichstag at the close of the session, May 20, 1914, at the time that the customary cheer for the Kaiser was to be given, *instead of leaving as had been their custom, and they "remained seated and silent as a manifestation of* REPUBLICAN CONVICTIONS."†

On June 24 the announcement was made of the completion of the enlarged Kiel Canal, *so that the largest ships might pass through from the Baltic to the North Sea.* The event was attended by impressive ceremonies.

Here was a tremendously important event. GERMANY WAS NOW PREPARED FOR A FOREIGN WAR. The preceding month the German Minister of War stated publicly that the large increase in the army provided for the year before *had been effected, with the army in splendid condition.* Also early in the summer the last of the payments to the Government Defense Levy were to be made.

On July 14, 1914, *ten days before the completion of the Kiel Canal,* a letter by the German Government to the com-

*Despatch No. 6.

*1914 International Year Book, title Germany.

†Same authority. Here again the spirit of revolution against the Kaiser was exhibited.

mander of its cruiser, *The Eber*, addressed to Cape Town, intructed how it and other of its vessels were to get coal *if war should be declared.**

Two months earlier, May, 1914, reservists from the Far East were called home.†

Early in June arms for cruisers were sent out to Buenos Ayres.†

On June 15th contracts were entered into by the German Government for coaling cruisers *at sea* at specified places and dates in August and September.†

Late in June reservists were called home from Natal.†

During July, Germany drew on London for large sums in excess of trade requirements, these bills to become due after August 1.†

This is strong circumstantial evidence, wonderfully cumulative. Now we have direct proof. Hon. Henry Morgenthau, United States Ambassador at Constantinople during 1914, states as follows in the New York *World* of October 14, 1917:

"Baron Wangenheim, the German Ambassador at Constantinople, in an outburst of enthusiasm after the arrival of the Goeben and Breslau in the Dardanelles, he having directed their movements by wireless while they were endeavoring to escape from the British fleets, informed me that *a conference had been held in Berlin early in July at which the date of the war was fixed.*

"This conference was presided over by the Kaiser. Baron Wangenheim was present to report on conditions in Turkey. Moltke, the chief of staff, was there, and so was Admiral von Tirpitz. With them were the leaders of German finance, the directors of the railroads and the captains of industry whose aid was essential to the Kaiser in putting the vast military machine into operation. Each was asked if he was ready for war. ALL REPLIED IN THE AFFIRMATIVE EXCEPT THE FINANCIERS, WHO INSISTED THAT THEY MUST HAVE TWO WEEKS IN WHICH TO SELL FOREIGN SECURITIES AND ARRANGE THEIR LOANS.

"At the time this conference was held," continues former Ambassador Morgenthau, "nobody outside of the inner circles of the Berlin and Vienna Governments dreamed of war as a result of the Sarajevo assassinations. They took good care that no suspicion should be aroused. The Kaiser went straight to Norway on his yacht. The Chancellor left Berlin for a rest. The diplomatic corps had no intimation of the impending calamity—the British Ambassador went away, leaving the embassy to the Charge d'Affaires. The same drug was used in Vienna, and even when the blow fell the Russian Ambassador was absent from his post on a vacation."

Corroborative proof is presented by Mr. Morgenthau. He says: "All the great stock exchanges experienced an acute financial depression as German-owned stocks were quietly pushed into the market. In New York, as I found afterward, there were astonishing slumps in quotations. Between July 10 and July 25, which was two days before the ultimatum was sent to Serbia, Union Pacific dropped from 154¾ to 125¼, Baltimore and Ohio went from 90¼ to 78¼, and United States Steel slumped with the railroad stocks. No adequate explanation was offered."

Furthermore, adds Mr. Morgenthau, "it was not to me alone that Baron Wangenheim told the story of the Berlin conference. Only recently the Marquis Garroni, the Italian Ambassador at Constantinople, announced that Baron Wagenheim said the same thing to him, Italy at that time being a member of the Triple Alliance."

Thus the evidence is conclusive that the details for starting the war were being worked out in Berlin some three weeks before the open rupture occurred; also we have presented proof that

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*London Times, Oct. 6, 1914. This letter was intercepted and shows that the German oligarchy had its plans laid for war.

†The late Rev. H. M. Gwatkin, professor of Ecclesiastical History, Cambridge University, in The Nation, of London, Oct. 14, 1916.

during May and June the German Government was getting ready for the outbreak, the decisive factor being the completion of the enlargement of the Kiel Canal. The origin of the plan dates from the time when the Liberals left the Socialists because of their plans against humanity; also there existed two other causes, which presently we will explain. We proceed with our narration of the events leading up to the outbreak.

On July 31st the *Kronprinzessin Cecile*, in mid-Atlantic, received a message in special cipher saying, "War has broken out with England, France and Russia. Return to New York;" whereas the war had not broken out—Germany was ostensibly still negotiating. The cipher code had been handed the captain *two years before.**

During March, in preparation for what was to come, the Kaiser visited his two allies, Emperor Francis Joseph and the King of Italy, also the crown prince of Austria-Hungary. The newspapers reported unusually long conferences by the Kaiser with the foreign ministers of both countries. Three months later, in June, the Kaiser again visited the Austro-Hungarian crown prince, taking with him Admiral von Tirpitz, Secretary of the Navy.

Before that time the German Government in its task of preparing the minds of its subjects for the forthcoming war had pictured the terrors of Pan-Slavism and the absolutism of the Czar. During March, 1914, the *Cologne Gazette* and *Germania*, two of Germany's newspapers, conducted a furious campaign against Russia. They were given free reign for a time and a high pitch of excitement was reached. Then the semi-official newspapers declared the scare to be without foundation and the State Secretary administered a mild rebuke, BUT THE GERMANS HAD BEEN AROUSED.

*Prof. Gwatkin, in the Nation.

Four days after the completion of the enlarged Kiel Canal so that the largest war vessels would be able to move either towards Russia or England, the Austro-Hungarian crown prince and his wife were killed at the capital of Bosnia by a Slav, who had come from Serbia to do the deed. *This was only one part of a systematic propaganda for Slavic freedom.**

*During 1815, at the Congress of Vienna, after the overthrow of Napoleon, the Reactionist Governments deliberately divided up the several nationalities in the conquered territory so as to lessen the people's power. The cruel Mohammedan Turks were to hold the Slavic Christians in Southeastern Europe. The Slavs in what had been Poland were to continue as a divided nationality. Hungary was still to be made up of provinces peopled by Huns, Slavs, Germans, and Roumanians of the Latin race. To the absolute monarchy of Austria there was transferred a dominating control in Italy: France, Spain and Portugal were placed under reactionism; and to the absolute monarch in Prussia was transferred various groups of peoples possessing self-governing traits. During the past forty years the Slavs in Central and Southeastern Europe became much impressed with the need for ending their inferior position by acquiring their freedom and developing their God-given aptitudes. Societies were formed to foster this ideal and the movement spread throughout all of the Slavic world. The organization is the *International Federation of Slavic Societies.* It helped to form the Balkan League whereby in 1912 war was declared against the Turkish Government and it was driven almost completely from Europe. The next step in the program was to plan to rescue the brethren held as captives in Hungry, Austria and Prussia. This plan of the Slavic Societies was stated in the Washington *Post* of July 12, 1913, by a Paris correspondent, quoting the President, General Count Arthur Spiridovitch, *who had foretold correctly the expulsion of the Turks from Europe.* This leader said:

"Our aspirations are:

"First—A Southern Slavic empire,

Evidently the conditions were such that the Austro-Hungarian and Prussian oligarchies had either to strike first or be struck* and they struck first,† gaining a tremendous advantage:

In Austria-Hungary the oligarchy forced its about-to-be rebellious subjects to mobilize and march against their brother Slavs; and in Germany the Kaiser and his colleagues, including the Liberals, all of whom had skilfully whetted the appetite of the working people for foreign conquest, along with fear of Pan Slavism, now formed them into regiments and marched them towards the peaceful French people, first encountering the courageous Belgians.

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composed of all of the countries whose liberation from Turkey was obtained or encouraged by Russia, including Bulgaria, Servia, Montenegro; all the territories they have taken in the late war and Bosnia, Herzegovina, Albania, Poland, Croatia, and the Czech country [being part of Austria-Hungary and Prussia].

"Second—It is proposed to break up the patch-work empire of Austria. This would give Hungary her independence and let the Slavs of the Austrian Empire join the new confederation.

"Third—The independence of Poland is aimed at as an integral state of the confederacy. Here Russia, Austria and Germany would have to give their respective portions of Poland. The Slavic empire of the South would hold back the Mohammedan invasion of Europe, which many are looking for.

"Fourth—Pan Slavism wishes neither to annex nor oppress. Its one desire is *the reign of peace through liberty and fraternity.* Its ideal is to see the tribunal of The Hague in full working action."

A year before this statement was issued from Paris the International Year Book said: "This Southern Slavic movement for separation was, in fact, one of the most serious questions before the Austro-Hungarian Government."

*The imminance of a revolution by the Slavs in Central Europe is evidenced by a vast amount of proof, much of which is presented in the Austro-Hungarian Red Book. The British ambassador at Vienna wrote home:

"The country certainly believed that it had before it the alternative of subduing Serbia or of submitting sooner or later to mutilation at her hands." (British Blue Book, No. 161.)

The German Government, in a pamphlet issued during the first month of the war, entitled *Reasons for the War with Russia*, said:

"Under these circumstances it was clear to Austria-Hungary that it was not compatible with the dignity and the spirit of *self-preservation of the monarchy* to view idly any longer this agitation across the border. The Imperial and Royal Government apprised Germany of this conception, and asked for our opinion. *With all our heart we were able to agree with our Ally's estimate of the situation, and assure him that* ANY ACTION CONSIDERED NECESSARY TO END THE MOVEMENT IN SERBIA DIRECTED AGAINST THE CONSERVATION OF THE MONARCHY WOULD MEET WITH OUR APPROVAL."

Here it is unblushingly said that the maintenance of the oligarchy—*which means the continued captivity of the Slavs*—was the cause of starting the war against Serbia. Such also is the statement in the Dual Monarchy's proclamation to its subjects. However, this was only one of three causes of the war, as we have pointed out.

Six weeks before the killing of the crown prince in Bosnia the Austro-Hungarian Emperor told his ambassador from Constantinople that "war was inevitable because of conditions in the Balkans." This was repeated to the American Ambassador at Constantinople, Henry Morgenthau (New York *World*, Oct. 14, 1917).

†The Austro-Hungarian Government acting through its ministry first declared war against Serbia, refusing to mediate, but three days later, July 31, the ministry consented to mediation (British Blue Book Nos. 131, 138, 141), but then the Prussian Kaiser refused to rescind his order for mobilization

Thus the World War was started.

On August 4 the Socialist members in the Reichstag unanimously joined with the other members in voting the necessary war credits. All knew that Belgium and France were to be invaded.

In 1912 at the International Socialist Congress *the delegates from Germany and Austria-Hungary had blocked the passage of a resolution proposed by the French delegates that in order to prevent war by one country upon another there should take place an insurrection by the working class and a general strike.* THUS THE GERMAN AND AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST DELEGATES HAD HELPED THEIR FELLOW COUNTRYMEN TO START THE WAR AGAINST THEIR NEIGHBORS—A WAR OF CONQUEST.* One year after the start was made all of the representatives in the Reichstag except the Socialists demanded widespread conquest.†

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against Russia, *therefore he is responsible for starting the war.*

*Conquest was aimed at by the German Government from the start. This government in its negotiations with the British Government endeavored to get it to stay out of the war, declaring that Germany would leave the French territory intact, but on being asked as to the French *colonies* refused to make any pledge.

†On August 16, 1915, the Liberals of Germany, speaking through the executive committee of its members of the National Liberal Party in the Reichstag, declared:

"The outcome of the present war can only be a peace which, expanding our frontier east, west and overseas, will protect us militarily, politically and economically, against new attacks and compensate us for the enormous sacrifices which the German nation already has made and is determined to continue until a victorious conclusion."

Complete confidence in the National Liberal Party Leader, Ernest Bassermann, was also expressed and an announcement was made that the party would stand solidly back of any government pursuing with unbending firmness the aims above outlined. In the adoption of the resolution there were two dissenting votes.

In conjunction was filed with the Reichstag memorials in the same strain from six industrial organizations "representing the politically powerful reactionary agragrians or junkers, and also the highly centralized influences of the mighty industrial concerns, including at least a portion, if not all, of the Krupp interests." This statement by Karl H. Von Wiegand was in a press dispatch of August 20, and he characterized the demand as being for "wholesale annexation." Also the Conservative and the Clerical parties were for annexation.

Reviewing the facts the conclusion is inevitable that there were three contributing causes of this World War:

1. The menace at home to the property-owners in Prussia.

2. There existed a near-at-hand Slavic uprising for freedom. The captives in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Hungary were to be assisted by Serbia and also by Russia and France, if necessary, and which, should it prove successful, would tremendously lessen the military power of the Central Empires and correspondingly augment their neighbors' power. Also the remaining peoples would then more readily oust the ruling few and themselves come into power.

3. The ruling few were able to stay in power and to hold their captive nations by promptly starting a foreign war. They were able to enthuse their subjects of their own nationality by the methods we have pointed out.

These three causes of the war existed. Had any one of these causes been absent the war would probably not have occurred. Thus these three causes were *contributing causes, each being a determining factor. There existed, however, a primary or underlying cause, namely,* THE LOW-GRADE ELEMENT IN THE PRUSSIAN LOWER CLASS. RECALL THE FACTS WE HAVE SHOWN TO HAVE OCCURRED.

For three and a half years the deadly war has been waged and what is the outlook?

The Outlook for Peace.

In Prussia the ruling few and the other property-owners are still controlling the Government AND ARE DOING THEIR UTMOST TO KEEP OUT OF THE CLUTCHES OF THE ONES WHO ARE UNDER THE CASTE SYSTEM, AND WHO IN THIS WAR HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THEY ARE BRUTES, RAVISHING MANY OF THEIR CAPTIVE WOMEN, ALSO THEY ARE PLEDGED TO CONFISCATE ALL PROPERTY AT HOME; AND ARE LOOKING FORWARD TO PLACING IN THE GOVERNMENT SERVICE UNDER THEMSELVES ALL OF THE PRESENT-DAY PROPERTY-OWNERS, as we have seen. Nothing like such a situation has ever before existed on earth! It has come about through the mixing of the blood of the Huns with that of the Teutons, long ago, followed by the elimination of the ones with higher ideals because of despotism and the immigration of the liberty-loving, or they have been killed during the long wars. Two main groups exist in Prussia: (1) the property-less people or wage-earners who probably constitute much more than a majority, and who as a class are imbued with the ideals above described; and (2) there are the property-owners, part of whom are of the caste system—the nobility and the bureaucracy, *but in politics it is the property-owners on the one side and on the other the property-less, and between the Socialists and the property-owners there is fierce hatred.* In the words of Samuel P. Orth in the *World's Work*, June, 1912:

"In Prussia this feeling of personal hatred [between the Revolutionary Socialists and the propertied class] runs very high; there are no friendly 'good mornings' between Social Democrats and the Conservatives. The Social Democrats never attend a public function where they are expected to cheer the Kaiser. In South Germany there is no such bitterness."

In the words of Prof. Paul Rohrback of Germany in a recently published volume, *Germany's Isolation:*

"The feeling of caste of the upper classes brought to bear on the struggle for freedom of the lower classes *that element of deadly hatred which elsewhere is confined to the wild, really lawless and unpatriotic anarchists who are the dregs of society.*"

In the words of the Encyclopædia Britannica in its history of *Germany:*

"The most striking effect of the development of this antagonism [between the Social Democrats and the propertied classes] *was the gradual disappearance as a factor in politics of the Liberals*, the chief builders of the Empire. Their part thenceforth was to vote blindly with the Conservative groups, *in a common fear of the Social Democracy*, or to indulge in protests, futile because backed by no power inside or outside the Parliament."*

Here we see one of the causes of the dreadful World War: *It was started to shield the property owners in Prussia from the Revolutionary Socialists.* Count von Reventlow of Germany in his paper the *Tages Zeitung*, April 5, 1917, in discussing the peace terms proposed by President Wilson—freedom for all peoples—spoke of "the need to stand against the stormy demand for reform in those inner political conditions, *the maintenance of which bulks larger to many Prussian conservatives than the winning of the war.*† In the words of M. Yves Guyot, late Minister of State in France, in his book *The Causes and Consequences of the War* (page 199): "The attitude of the Socialist Party must always be reckoned among the factors which urged the Kaiser to make his 'preventive' war in 1914."

On September 21, 1917, a dispatch from Amsterdam stated that in Berlin the Socialist paper, *Vorwaerts*, the official organ of the party, quotes from a manifesto being circulated by Anti-Socialists and says:

"The men who are responsible for this manifesto being issued also want to war against their own people. The civilian truce is over! Let us have a

*Vol. xi, p. 897.

†Associated Press in Washington Post, April 7, 1917.

civilian war! Very well, let them have it!"

A few days later, September 24, the National Liberals in the Reichstag by unanimous vote declared against the establishment of a Responsible Ministry—in substance they *declared that the masses in Prussia are not capable of self-government.*

We now consider the needed remedy.

Part III.

FEDERATION OF THE WORLD UNDER THE DOMINATION OF DEMOCRACIES THE REMEDY.

The remedy for the unfortunate situation in Prussia is the establishment of the Federation of the World in connection with details presently to be described. Leading up thereto we analyze the State and outline its development.

THE STATE:

(1) Its Elements.

Mankind is co-operative in his nature as is evidenced by the existence of the Family and the State. The State is an aggregation of human beings amongst whom there is *a single ruling power.* This power, termed sovereignty, expresses itself through three departments of government—legislative, executive and judicial departments, officered by its representatives and their assistants. As the ruling power expresses itself through these three departments the result is that the legislative department enacts *laws,* the executive department issues *orders,* and the judicial department renders *judgments.* But in a broad way the name for each of these expressions of the sovereign will is Laws. We use the word in that sense.

The State, then, expresses its will through Government, resulting in Laws, therefore civilized man is dwelling amidst Laws—human laws, and three departments of government—Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments. EACH OF THESE FOUR ELEMENTS EXISTS IN CIVILIZED SOCIETY. These laws are the rules whereby man describes the rights and duties of the individuals and aggregations of individuals, subject to mutual agreements between these units within the limits fixed by the rules. The legislative department is used to alter the rules to meet the changing conditions. The executive and the judicial departments are used to administer these rules (policies). *Each of these four institutions or elements exist wherever mankind is civilized, the result amongst self-governing people being Civil Liberty.*

Where these institutions are absent —where Government is absent, the result is Anarchy and Armed Force—Militarism and an occasional War. When a rush of gold miners takes place into new diggings there is anarchy until they establish Lynch Law, possibly, and then a more formal kind of government. GOVERNMENT IS AN ELEMENT IN CIVILIZATION.

The existing World War is a result of an absence of government as between nations. There is no real international law, nor is there any legislative department of government and no executive and judicial departments of government. *The issue in this war is,* SHALL THERE BE ESTABLISHED A SYSTEM OF INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT—FEDERAL GOVERNMENT?

The United States, Great Britain and France have affirmed this principle. though as yet they have not declared the details. But the main outline of that which must be established clearly appears when the history of Federal Government is unfolded, as follows:

(2) The Development of Federal Government.

Each race of people as it has arisen has had its own peculiar traits of char-

acter, resulting in a system of government for itself, both within the family and the state.

The earliest mention in history of self-government by the masses—real democracy, is in the writings of Julius Caesar, about 100 B. C., as we have said. He while campaigning in Gaul against the Teutons described their mode of living—self-government by the adults, who received the advice of their parents but were not obliged to obey. This was a new stage in human development. Until that time the character of the people was such that the father ruled within the family *after the death of his father.* Thus the sons and their families were under the control of the father as long as he lived. This was due to the undeveloped condition of the people. And within the state there was no such thing as self-government as between the heads of the families. There existed the selfish rule of whoever secured the principal offices. It was so under the so-called Roman Republic, and it was so under the later Absolute Monarchy.

Imagine, then, Caesar's surprise upon meeting a people possessed of such great individuality and courage that each child upon attaining his growth became his own ruler! In community affairs they co-operated peacefully. Owing to the reign of brute force as between the miniature states the public policies were decided by the husbands of the families, who met together armed with spear and shield. They discussed policies tolerantly, deciding each issue by show of hands, *abiding by the will of the majority.* In that way they adopted the laws whereby the land was divided amongst the families, each family cultivating its own piece of ground while using in common the pasturage. The basis of it all was Equal Rights. This required honesty on the part of the powerful ones, but so well-balanced were they that they produced this remarkable civilization. As yet it was not as highly intellectual as in Greece, Rome and Gaul, but the other qualities—the moral qualities—were more highly developed.

At that time the area of the state was about the size of our present-day county. This limit was due to the fact that they had not yet developed Representative Government, which came later.

The warriors ruled in community affairs by meeting together, as we have said. In the larger affairs, which were very limited, they came together annually when conditions were normal. These annual meetings were opened by prayer to God, as is our custom today on important occasions. The more spiritual ones of the community then as now believed in the existence of intelligences in the invisible realm, and then as now they publicly asked for assistance.

Between husband and wife there existed a new tie—Romantic Love. Husband and wife were more true to each other than ever before was known amongst the masses. The young men and the young women before marriage were more chaste than ever before. IT WAS THESE QUALITIES AS A WHOLE THAT RESULTED IN THE ABILITY OF THE INDIVIDUALS TO GOVERN THEMSELVES—GOVERN THEMSELVES INDIVIDUALLY AND COLLECTIVELY.

Early in the Christian era the Teutons who were nearest to the Christian world accepted the Christian religion.

At this time the population of the Christian world—the Roman Empire peopled largely by the fourth sub-race—was diminishing in numbers, while the population of the fifth and latest sub-race, the Teutonic, was increasing in numbers. It sifted in among the Greeks, the Romans and the Gauls. Then in Southeastern Europe, peopled by the Teutons, there burst in upon them a fierce and undeveloped tribe of the yellow race from Asia, the Huns. Vast numbers of the Teutons died in defense of their homes and the state; also in many places an exodus occurred, the entire community moving by caravan to the westward and to the south-

west. The Huns rushed in in vast hordes and fought their way clear across Central Europe as far as the river Marne, in what to-day is France, where the civilized people of Europe by means of wide-spread co-operation, in a mighty battle, lasting several days, succeeded in stopping them. Then the Huns turned south. Not long afterward their leader, Attila, died, and his numerous sons warred with each other and brought on chaos, followed by the recovery of all of Europe by the white race, except that a mixture of the yellow and the white race took place, accentuating the Slavic, Lithuanian, and Prussian nationalities. Within each of these nationalities a caste system has prevented in a considerable degree the further mixing of the two stocks. That caste system exists to this day.

At the time that the Teutons were forced to retreat before the Huns they moved in among the Greeks, the Romans and the Gauls; and, later, they poured in upon these decadent populations in increasing numbers, going in armed bands, each under a leader, taking their families with them. Thus they became conquerors, but their high traits of character resulted in generous treatment for their captives. A new degree of justice for captured peoples was established. The local customs were respected, while the newcomers applied among themselves their own peculiar institutions—trial by a jury of one's peers, the unrestrained use of free speech among themselves, and emancipation of their own youths upon the attainment of manhood and womanhood. Also the newcomers honorably intermarried with the more advanced portions of the conquered peoples. An exception was Britain, where the immigration was more slow and the inhabitants were either killed in battle or they succeeded in retiring, resulting in the southern part of the Island of Britain becoming "a Germany outside of Germany," and so it continued for five hundred years. While the mainland was suffering from invasion by the backward races from the southeast and the southwest, the Anglo-Saxons were untouched.

Among these Anglo-Saxons there first developed REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, WHICH INCLUDES FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. The elected executive committee in each community attended the annual meeting for the next larger unit, the county, and these representatives met together at the county seat in an open field and with them assembled such of the individual citizens as cared to attend. These citizens as a whole transacted the business for the county. Towards the close of the session they elected an executive committee for the coming year.

Because of the development of a population with traits of character such as we have described *there developed a purely Representative Government, the legislative body for the state being termed the Witenagemote or Witan, meaning the body of Wise Men. These representatives of the people elected the king.* Even William the Conqueror, who came over from Normandy in 1066, was elected king. Not, however, until he in battle had killed the then-existing king and had scattered his forces. William became an absolute monarch in *national* affairs, while the people and their local leaders retained a considerable degree of *county and local self-government*, except where the Conqueror set aside the earls and lesser nobles, substituting his Norman-French supporters. These invaders were of self-governing stock.

In something like 150 years there was an amalgamation of the conquerors and the Anglo-Saxons and then the unified people re-established self-government by the local and the county leaders—the barons. These barons and their vassals on the bloody field of Runnymede in the year 1215 forced King John, a descendant of the Conqueror, to sign *Magna Charta. And in this compact appears the ever-present trait of the true Teuton:* A DEMAND FOR

EQUAL RIGHTS—the barons demanded of the king the same right of jury trial for the humblest freeman that they demanded for themselves. In other words, they demanded the restoration of the ancient customs of the Anglo-Saxons.

This Teutonic trait, which resulted in just treatment for the weaker brothers, is a fact of the utmost importance to-day, for the world is considering whether or not the self-governing peoples of this modern age shall propose to the less advanced nations of the world that they join with the democracies in forming the Federation of the World. *Would such a system be for the best interests of humanity?* YES, BECAUSE THE SELF-GOVERNING PEOPLES OF TO-DAY POSSESS THE SAME NOBLE TRAITS AS DID THE BARONS AT RUNNYMEDE: THEY PROPOSE EQUAL NATIONAL RIGHTS FOR ALL PEOPLES!

This is the attitude of the Liberals—the Progressives, whereas the opposition are possessed of a lower standard of morals: they demand the relation of Ruler and Subject, the latter being political slaves. Conservative Governments are of this character or tendency, both in the so-called democracies and the monarchies.

We have outlined the development of the state in the southern part of Britain. In Western and Southern Europe the conditions were different, due to a two-fold action: the decline of the unified power in the vast Roman state, and then the inflow of the Teutons and the mixing of the two sub-races. *It resulted in thousands of miniature ruling powers*: the Feudal system, a military organization in which there existed the relation of Lord and Vassal. Each unit was at the start a ruling power—a Sovereign State. In what is now France there at one time were 150,000 of these miniature states.

But as the chieftain was a Teuton there was absent the brutality and lust of the less advanced despots. The chronicles of those days, however, were written by the conquered nationality, which somewhat accounts for the tales which they in some instances wrote and which have come down to us.

As development proceeded these miniature ruling powers federated for self-protection or they were forcibly brought together. *But invariably among these liberty-loving and courageous communities they retained some degree of local self-government.* THIS IS THE FEDERAL SYSTEM, THE RESULT OF FEDERATION—THE COMING TOGETHER OF PEOPLES OF SELF-GOVERNING STOCK. INVARIABLY THEY MUTUALLY AGREED THAT EACH COMMUNITY SHOULD ATTEND TO SOME OF ITS OWN AFFAIRS.

That was what took place in Western and Southern Europe, also among their colonies. This system had already come into existence in South Britain, as we have seen. In the earlier sub-race the ruling power in both state and local affairs was in one individual or an oligarchy. The explanation of this system is that the people as a whole were so undeveloped that they were unable to trust one another—Representative Government was unknown.

In the new Federal System the king was merely the head of the National Government or at most the absolute monarch merely in National affairs. *The result has been that as education has been applied to this self-governing stock the masses have more and more come into power, recently capturing the National Governments in France, Belgium, South Germany, Austria, Italy, Greece, Serbia, Montenegro, Rumania, Spain and Portugal.* BUT AS YET THE MASSES THAT ARE A MIXTURE OF THE YELLOW AND THE WHITE RACES, LOCATED IN PRUSSIA, HUNGARY, RUSSIA, BULGARIA AND TURKEY, ARE NOT SELF-GOVERNING. Therefore they in the forthcoming Federation of the World while enjoying equal national rights *may need to be aided by the issuance of a National Constitution by the International Government guaranteeing to all citizens civil liberty—free institutions: freedom of conscience, free speech, free press,*

etc. The democracies must provide this in order to put an end to competition in armament, as well as to aid the less developed peoples.

The development of the Federal System to its present stage has been under governments wherein the people have *not* been fully self-governing. This has somewhat confused nearly all of the publicists. Most of them look upon the present-day proposal for Federal Government for a World State *as placing too much power in the International Government.* In fact many proposals of this character are actually being made —suggestions for a World Parliament, an enlarged National Parliament, a place where public policies are to be threshed out. *But nothing of the kind is to occur,* BECAUSE THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD ARE EACH TO BE SELF-GOVERNING UNITS, INTENT UPON DEVELOPING THEIR OWN PECULIAR CIVILIZATION, THE INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT GUARANTEEING THIS VERY THING!

This is President Wilson's idea, who says:

"I am proposing . . . that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful."

Under such a system the function of the International Government will be:

First, to mark out the Rights and Duties of Nations, plainly specifying that each nation retains the right to sovereignty within its boundaries on the basis of free institutions, also that it retains the right to enter into treaties except as limited in the international constitution, AND THAT THESE RIGHTS ARE GUARANTEED BY EACH OF THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD, ALL INTERNATIONAL DISPUTES TO BE SETTLED AMICABLY.

Second, TO DECLARE THAT NONE OF THE RESERVED RIGHTS OF NATIONS SHALL BE ABRIDGED EXCEPT WITH THE CONSENT OF THE NATIONS THEMSELVES. This is the theory at present and it can be made a reality, at the same time ending the reign of force. It can be accomplished by installing Human Government in International Affairs. At present there is an absence of government in these affairs, the result being anarchy and armed force and war. But as quickly as Government is established the result will be Civil Liberty—liberty under law.

It is a mathematical proposition. The needed next step is now about to be taken, due to the fact that during the past eighteen years the people have come into power in the leading nations of the world and in this war have defeated the attempt by the Autocracies to conquer them. The terms of peace by the triumphant Democracies is *a demand for the extension of human government to international relations on the basis of human liberty.* Here are the five elements:

1. Laws—real international law in place of the existing international ethics and the reign of force, an absence of government termed anarchy.

2. A Legislative Department, strictly limited in its power, to consist of the National Governments which will instruct their representatives in the International Council.

3. An Executive Department, probably to be known as the International Council, in connection with suitable committees.

4. A Judicial Department, without power to alter the international constitution. The members of this World Court will doubtless be appointed by the International Council, which will be subject to instructions by the National Governments.

5. In each nation there will exist Free Institutions.

These are the five elements in democratic government—laws and three departments of government on the basis of free institutions, and this system is now about to be extended to international affairs. This is expressed as follows by the board of trustees of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace:

The Needed Next Step.

"It seems incredible that after this the stricken people [of the world] will set their feet in the same old paths of policy and suspicion which must lead them again to the same result.

"Finding expression through a great multitude of voices everywhere *the general public opinion of mankind should influence the minds of the negotiators who settle the terms of peace and inspire them to* A NEW DEPARTURE IN THE ESTABLISHMENT OF JUSTICE AS THE RULE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

"While we must not be overconfident of our individual qualifications to point out the detailed methods through which the result may be accomplished, we may still advocate measures which seem practicable and appropriate to the purpose.

"WE CAN SEE THAT DEFINITE RULES OF NATIONAL CONDUCT SHOULD BE AGREED UPON; THAT A COURT OF COMPETENT JURISDICTION SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED TO JUDGE OF NATIONAL CONFORMITY TO THOSE RULES; AND THAT NEW SANCTIONS SHOULD BE PROVIDED TO COMPEL RESPECT FOR THE JUDGMENTS RENDERED. [INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT.]

"ABOVE ALL, THE MOTIVE AND SPIRIT OF THE NEW INSTITUTIONS SHOULD BE CLEARLY AND FULLY, NOT THE PROMOTION OF AMBITION OR THE EXTENSION OF POWER, BUT THE SAFEGUARDING OF HUMAN RIGHTS AND THE PERFECTION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY.

"Toward this high end the courage and hope and conviction of the humblest citizen of the most distant land may contribute.

JOSEPH H. CHOATE
ANDREW D. WHITE
JOHN W. FOSTER
ELIHU ROOT
LUKE E. WRIGHT
CHARLEMAGNE TOWER
ROBERT S. WOODWARD
AUSTEN G. FOX
JACOB G. SCHMIDLAPP
THOMAS BURKE
ROBERT S. BROOKINGS
OSCAR S. STRAUS
SAMUEL MATHER
JAMES L. SLAYDEN
JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS
CHARLES L. TAYLOR
HENRY S. PRITCHETT
WILLIAM M. HOWARD
CLEVELAND H. DODGE
ROBERT A. FRANKS
GEORGE W. PERKINS
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER
ANDREW J. MONTAGUE
ARTHUR WILLIAM FOSTER
JAMES BROWN SCOTT."*

This is Liberalism in the highest degree! The proposal is the extension of human government to international affairs on the basis of free institutions, in place of international anarchy and armed force and war. The dominant power that is to shape the international constitution is to be the Democracies and their allies.

The reason this government in international affairs did not come sooner has been due to the fact that until the past few years the dominant earthly power on this globe has been Conservative Governments—governments aiming to benefit the ruling few, holding the masses as subjects—political slaves. But now the world is entering into a New Age—the Democratic Age, with its New Freedom. We have traced the rise of the democracies. This history clearly foretells the near-at-hand establishment of the Federation of the World! Development is a law of Nature. The two warring Alliances are about to merge into one organization and in connection therewith all of the peoples who now are ruled by the few are to be freed.

The feasibility of this program will more clearly appear by glancing through the following:

World Situation.

Owing to the dominance in the world of Democracies *there is to be ended forthwith the rule of the few wherever it exists, along with the ending of competition in armament and war.* In other words, it means that real peace is to come to the warring nations through their consenting as follows:

1. Their consenting to the freeing of all the captive nations. This in order to

*A public statement under date of February 16, 1915, and reaffirmed each subsequent year.

comply with the basic desire in democracies that all peoples shall be free; also to help make effective the program for ending the competition in armament and war.

2. Their consenting to the freeing of such of the other peoples as are ruled by the few, directly or indirectly—"machine" rule in a make-believe democracy is more odious in some respects than an openly declared autocracy.

3. Their consenting to the existence of small nations as well as the large ones. And

4. Their consenting to the ending of competition in armament and war—the ending of militarism, which requires World Federation.

Herewith are suggestions for an International constitution along the lines thus indicated.

A PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONSTITUTION.

Preamble

We, the national states, whose names are hereunto affixed, in order to establish freedom and justice throughout the world, agree as follows:

Article I. *Organization.* Hereby is established THE WORLD FEDERATION, which shall act through a body of representatives to be known as the INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL.

Article II. *Powers of International Council.* There shall be vested in the International Council the following powers:

1. The power to administer the international law agreed to in this constitution, and such other international law as may be adopted, not including treaties except as stated in article four.

2. The power to regulate the use of the high seas and all other of the waters surrounding the Eastern and the Western Hemispheres, including the Mediterranean and the Black Seas, also the international straits and canals.

3. The power to frame proposals for international law and submit the same to the member national states, *each proposal to become law between such of them as accept.**

4. The power to submit to the member national states such proposals as one or more of their number may suggest, each suggestion filed with the International Council to be submitted promptly. Each issue thus submitted shall be accompanied with arguments for and against, prepared by two or more committees representing the opposing sides.

5. *After five years* the power to decide from time to time the maximum volume of armament which the several nations may lawfully possess on the basis of population and wealth.* The ultimate aim shall be the disarmament of the world except for police duty. Immediately after the International Council is established each national state shall contribute thereto its quota of naval vessels and their inanimate equipment, or their equivalent in cash. The international navy shall amount to ten percentum of the world's navies. The quotas by the national states shall be on the basis of wealth. At any time the International Council may call upon the constituent states for aid by armed troops, on the basis of property as assessed for the raising of the ordinary taxes. When the International Council is established it, through its representatives, may from time to time inspect the military, naval and police forces of the national states.

6. In the exercise of the power of self-defense by the International Council, and of its power to administer the obligations created by this compact, the control of the waters surrounding the national states and the co-operation of

*For further details see Article III., Section 2, page 35, below.

**Armament.* Owing to the proposed *liberation of all captive nations and of all other subject peoples, and their protection,* there will be no disposition anywhere to build up armament, *therefore the terms of peace can provide that the existing armament, less five* SHALL BE RETAINED BY THOSE WHO POSSESS THEM, as this armament will be valuable merely as curiosities and as junk. See also pages 50, 54, 57, below.

such of the national states as agree with the Council, *shall be deemed sufficient to accomplish the desired end* WITHOUT IN ANY WAY INVADING A REBELLIOUS STATE EXCEPT FOR A REFUSAL TO CONFORM TO THE LAW LIMITING THE VOLUME OF ARMAMENT.*

7. The International Council shall protect each member national state from invasion, and, on the application to it by the legislative power of a national state, or by the executive authority when the legislative body is not in session, *shall protect the said state from domestic violence.*†

8. Upon request of the people of any considerable portion of a national state the International Council may apply within the state a constitution *guaranteeing free institutions* and shall maintain at least one administrative court wherein the constitutionality of the laws and the administration thereof shall be determined, with right of appeal to the International Council. The protectorate shall be ended as rapidly as is practicable.

The International Council shall issue a constitution for each of the colonies and shall maintain within each colony at least one administrative court upon the conditions named in the preceding paragraph.

Article III. *Limitations Upon the International Council.* Sec. 1. The only powers possessed by the International Council shall be such as are expressly conferred in this compact, and such implied powers as are reasonably necessary for the exercise of these express powers.

Sec. 2. THE RIGHT OF EACH NATIONAL STATE TO INTERNAL SELF-GOVERNMENT IS EXPRESSLY RESERVED. It shall include the right to control immigration and emigration, control importation and exportation of goods of all kinds, and control communication within the state. Within its territorial area each national states shall continue as a sovereign power.*

Sec. 3. The basis of this Federation shall be EQUAL RIGHTS BEFORE THE LAW FOR THE CONSTITUENT STATES, their representation in the International Council to be as stated in article six, section one. A national state is a sovereign state except as limited by this Federation.

Sec. 4. The national states of the Western Hemisphere shall continue to decide among themselves the questions of policy which principally concern that hemisphere;† and the national states

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**Enforcement of National Obligations.* The mere declaration that a national state refuses to abide by its obligation created by international law should be as far as the International Council should ordinarily go at the start. The people will be in power in all of the nations and the result will be that there will exist no incentive to build up an armament in violation of law. This factor is all-important. This tendency of self-governing people was pointed out in 1795 by Immanual Kant in his little volume, *Perpetual Peace.* The International Council can exert additional pressure gradually if necessary. The exportation of commodities can be prohibited. Then both the exports and imports might be shut off. Another step would be to stop all communication with the outside world except with the International Council.

†*Protection of Politically Backward States.* This provision and the succeeding one are for the protection of politically backward peoples from misgovernment within the state and from exploitation from without. If domestic violence is threatened the way will be open for protection by the Progressive International Government; and in the next paragraph in the text is a provision that any considerable number of people may apply to the International Council for protection.

**Sovereign Power.* This internal sovereignty *plus independence upon the seas and freedom from aggression from other nations* WILL RESULT IN REALLY SOVEREIGN STATES except that no right will exist for any of the national states to secede, as that would at once produce competition in armament and the other evils which flow where there is an absence of government. Details are in later chapters.

†*Federation of American Republics.* There is in course of formation the New Pan-Americanism, a federation of American Republics. These American states should care for the questions of policy which arise between themselves, unhindered by the Old World ideals.

of the Eastern Hemisphere shall decide among themselves the questions of policy which principally concern that hemisphere.*

Sec. 5. None of the states in the Eastern Hemisphere may acquire territory in the Western Hemisphere except with the consent of three-fourths of the national states thereon; and no national state in the Western Hemisphere shall acquire territory in the Eastern Hemisphere except with the consent of three-fourths of its national states.

Article IV. *Duties of National States.* Each national state shall observe its obligations. A non-observance shall be a basis for a claim for settlement, and a statement describing the non-performance of an obligation may be filed with the judicial department of the International Council. Each judgment of the judicial department shall be enforced if not voluntarily acquiesced in.

Article V. *Indestructibility.* This World Federation shall be an indestructible union of indestructible national states except as national states shall mutually desire to unite or divide.** THIS CONSTITUTION SHALL BE CHANGED ONLY IN THE MANNER SPECIFIED IN PARAGRAPHS THREE AND FOUR IN ARTICLE TWO.†

Article VI. *Representation.* Sec. 1. In the International Council, each national state shall vote as a unit and the vote of each shall have a weight in proportion to its population and wealth, the latter to be the assessed valuation for international taxation.††

Sec. 2. In each national state its counsellors in the International Council shall be elected by the legislative power.* The National Government

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**Open Door in China.* The above should be read in connection with the preceding provision that "The basis of this Federation shall be equal rights before the law for the constituent national states." This of itself would insure the continuance of the "open door" in China, namely, equal rights to all nations in China's trade except as she herself without compulsion shall decree otherwise, the same as any other national state might do.

**Mr. Asquith proposes a Confederation (page 65, below).

†See also the succeeding note.

††*Basis of Representation.* This basis or populaiton and wealth *will place the dominancy in the progressive nations;* whereas population alone or national states alone would not. The welfare of the world requires that the progressive portion shall formulate the rules of international relationship. One of the features of this progressivism will be a provision in the constitution that none of the reserved rights of the national states shall be altered except with the consent of the several states. *This will place in each of the politically backward states a veto power as to changes in its relations to the other nations.* This complete reservation of national rights except as imbedded in the international constitution, is the British system, described at page 59, below.

**Election of Counsellors.* Inasmuch as the National Governments of the world will determine the foreign policies for their respective states, they should each elect their Counsellors subject to instructions to them from time to time, and subject to recall. This was the system whereby the members of our Continental Congress were elected and served. In the present-day politically backward nations a system of voting by the citizens can be devised *whereby the members of the National Government will be elected by the more advanced portions of the population.* The basis for voting in local affairs will doubtless be adult suffrage, both men and women, as the local conditions will be directly under their personal observation. For the next larger area, the county, the vote should be restricted somewhat. In the exercise of the franchise in connection with the state, the nation and the international state, there should exist an ability to read intelligently. Self-government by the voters consists principally in selecting leaders. Some such gradation of voters plus the installation of suitable mechanism of government will make feasible self-government by the voters in India and China. The use of an official publicity pamphlet is indispensable in every nation.

may instruct its counsellors at will, and may recall them at will.*

Sec. 3. In administering the international law the International Council may delegate portions of its authority to committees and sub-committees, to be composed of whoever it may select. In this manner the judicial and executive authority shall be exercised.† Every dispute between the member national states shall be settled amicably.

Article VII. *Funds and Taxation.* Sec. 1. The Government of the World Federation shall be supported by funds supplied by the constituent national states on the basis of population and wealth. To this end the International Council shall assess a direct tax.

Sec. 2. In case the payments from the constituent national states shall not be sufficient to meet the expenses of the International Council and pay its appropriations, it may levy a tax upon the commerce which passes over the waters whereon it possesses jurisdiction.

Article VIII. *International Capital.* The international capital shall be near The Hague on an area of ground consisting of at lest one hundred square miles. Full title to this area and exclusive jurisdiction thereof shall be vested in the World Federation. In case the requirements herein specified are not complied with by the Netherlands Government in two years from the date of the going into operation of this compact, the International Council shall ask for bids for the location of the international capital and decide where it shall be located and upon what terms. Temporarily, at least, the capital shall be located at The Hague.

Article IX. *Additional Members.* Additional members may be admitted to this Federation and the procedure shall be the affixing of a signature to a copy of this compact and filing it with the secretary of the International Council.

Witness our signatures at the dates stated in connection therewith:

(Signatures to be affixed.)

Some such compact for the founding of the World Federation, with its International Government, is practicable, *because at the end of this war the Self-Governing People are to dominate the world and they are to establish international civil liberty.* This near-at-hand dominancy of the Democracies is the pivotal point. With the Democracies dictating the terms of peace in this present war *they will insist upon the development of the next stage in human relations—the establishment of government in international*

**Instructions and Recall.* This was the system under which the Thirteen Colonies conducted for eight years the War of the Revolution and, aided from abroad, they won. And within each of these colonies during these trying times the members of the several legislatures were subject to instructions by the voters—instructions at town meetings in the North, and at county conferences in the South. The mere existence of these systems whereby the voters might express their will was largely effective. Because of the existence of these systems whereby the plain people could express their will they succeeded in holding the rich tories in subjection. *Because the people ruled they won the war.* In the system proposed for the World Federation, the policy-forming bodies that are to dominate internationally will be the National Governments *directly representing the people.* These governments will be located at the national capitals and will communicate their decisions to their representatives in the International Council, who, therefore, will vote according to instructions; also the members of the International Council may be recalled at will. They will resemble ambassadors.

†*Parliamentary Committees.* Under Parliamentary Government the executive authority is exercised through a committee, the Cabinet. Under the Swiss system the executive authority is vested in a committee, the members of which are elected by the Congress; and during the War of the Revolution in this country a committee of the Continental Congress executed its mandates. As to the exercise of judicial authority within the International Government, the details of the system should doubtless be left quite largely to the law-making department, the International Council.

relations. This in place of the absence of government, due to the undeveloped stage of humanity. Where government is absent the result is anarchy, and where government is absent between nations the result is international anarchy, the nations relying upon Armed Force—Militarism, with its competition in armament.

Following is a summary and a comparison:

Summary and Comparison.

1. World Liberation is about to take place, due to the coming into power of democracies and their allies.

This is to take the place of the rule of the few, who have used their power selfishly and cruelly, fleecing the many and otherwise misusing them, holding them as subjects—political slaves. *These selfish few have* NOT *been able to form for the world a single ruling power.* At present there are 50 so-called Sovereign States, grouped into two competing alliances, and three-fourths of the people of the world are at war. *This is due to the lack of governmental development.*

2. World Liberation is to be accomplished by the recently established democracies by installing a system of World Federation, with its liberty-giving Federal Government. In this organization the International Government is to consist of real Law, along with three departments of international government—Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments. The result will be the reign of Law—Civil Liberty.

This in place of an absence of government in international affairs—the existence of Anarchy as between sovereign states, resulting in the reign of Force in international affairs, competition in Armament, Militarism. The so-called international law of to-day is merely International Ethics, wholly lacking in the elements of law, there being no marking out of the international relations by means of definitely agreed to rules international in scope, for the enforcement of which there is an international government. It follows that "the whole mass of international jurisprudence is mere opinion." This is the substance of the statement by John Austin, says the Encyclopædia Britannica, and adds, "the distinction insisted upon by Austin is unimpeachable."

The forthcoming International Government is to take the place of (1) The Hague Conferences, a system of meetings between make-believe sovereign states: (2) to take the place of Competition in Armament; and (3) take the place of the occasional Hague Arbitrations, a system whereby settlements have been made between these so-called sovereign states, there being wholly lacking the elements of judicial settlement such as exists where government is present. In the words of Elihu Root, "The lack of an adequate system of law to be applied has been the chief obstacle to the development of judicial settlement of international disputes [under the existing regime].*"

3. No half-way house will be effective. The evil being the *absence* of International Government, the remedy is the establishment of International Government.

In conclusion we enumerate the main points in the World Liberation program as a whole and present some of the very recent utterances of the governments of the United States and Great Britain:

*The Outlook for International Law, pp. 10, 1916.

WORLD LIBERATION PROGRAM AS A WHOLE.

1. *The freeing of the captive nations of the entire world, and the freeing of all others who are ruled by the few.* This because democracies insist upon freedom for others as well as themselves; also in order to end the competition in armament between themselves.

In the words of President Wilson in the concluding portion of his War Aims message to Congress on January 8, 1918:

"An evident principle runs through the whole program I have outlined. It is the principle of JUSTICE TO ALL PEOPLES AND NATIONALITIES, AND THEIR RIGHT TO LIVE ON EQUAL TERMS OF LIBERTY AND SAFETY WITH ONE ANOTHER, WHETHER THEY BE STRONG OR WEAK. Unless this principle be made its foundation no part of the structure of international justice can stand. The people of the United States could act upon no other principle; *and to the vindication of this principle they are ready to devote their lives, their honor and everything that they possess.* THE MORAL CLIMAX OF THIS, THE CULMINATING AND FINAL WAR FOR HUMAN LIBERTY, HAS COME, *and they are ready to put their own strength, their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test.*"

To the same effect is Premier Lloyd George's statement of War Aims, January 5, 1918:

"When men by the millions are called upon to suffer and die, and vast populations are being subjected to the sufferings and privations of a war unprecedented in the history of the world they are entitled to know for what cause or causes they are making the sacrifices. ONLY THE CLEAREST, GREATEST AND JUSTEST OF CAUSES COULD JUSTIFY THE CONTINUANCE EVEN FOR A DAY OF THIS UNSPEAKABLE AGONY OF NATIONS." And the premier proceeded to describe the British War Aims:

"We are not fighting a war of aggression against the German people. . . We are not fighting to destroy Austria-Hungary or to deprive Turkey of its capital or the rich lands of Asia Minor and Thrace, which are predominately Turkish. . . We are not fighting to destroy the German constitution, although we consider a military, autocratic constitution a dangerous anachronism. . .

"The first requirement always made by the British and their allies have been the complete restoration, political, territorial, and economic, of the independence of Belgium and such reparation as can be made for the devastation of its towns and provinces."

The same kind of restoration and reparation he demanded for Serbia, Montenegro and the occupied parts of France, Italy and Roumania; the restoration of Alsace and Lorraine to France; the reunion of the Italian people, and of the Roumanian people; an indepedent Poland; genuine self-government on democratic principles for the captive nations in Austria-Hungary; the establishment of separate nations in Arabia, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Palestine, along with internationalization and neutralization of the Mediterranean, the Black Seas and the passage between them; the future of the German colonies to be decided at an international conference at which the wishes and interests of the natives will receive the prime consideration; and reparation for injuries in violation of international law. The principle throughout it all being, he says, "GOVERNMENT WITH THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED"; ALSO THAT TREATIES SHALL BE UPHELD. Additional words by the premier to this effect we will presently quote.

2. Another principle that is to prevail is to be *Equal National Rights.* In the words of President Wilson above quoted: "All peoples and nationalities" should possess the "right to live on equal terms of liberty and safety with one another, whether they be strong or weak."

To the same effect are the repeated statement by the British Government.

3. Still another principle is the *Sanctity of Treaties*—the inviolability of contractual obligations between human governments. This requires the establishment of International Government and then the peaceful settlement of all international disputes, otherwise there will be competition in armament and the rule of the strong.

4. International Government:

(a) *For the regulation of the high seas and the international straits and channels* THERE MUST BE ESTABLISHED

REAL INTERNATIONAL LAW IN COMBINATION WITH AN INTERNATIONAL GOVERNMENT—legislative, executive and judicial. This government may consist of the National Governments represented at some central point by ambassadors, termed, for example, counsellors.

(b) *For the peaceful settlement of all disputes between nations* THERE MUST FIRST BE MARKED OUT THEIR LAWFUL RIGHTS AND DUTIES—A NEW THING IN THE WORLD. Up to the present day some of the strong nations have refused to consent to the marking out of their rights, prefering to leave their future rights to the strength of their military power. Added to this marking out of rights and duties will be a provision that *each of the international disputes must be settled amicably*, otherwise there will continue competition in armament and might will rule.

(c) In the marking out of rights and duties of nations *there will be reserved to each national state its Internal Sovereignty, except that after five years, say, the National Governments of the world, operating in international affairs through an International Council, may from time to time limit the maximum volume of armament which the several nations may lawfully possess on the basis of population and wealth* (page 34, above).

In the words of Premier Lloyd George on January 5, 1918, in concluding his statement of Great Britain's war aims:

"One regrettable omission we notice in the Central Powers' proposals. We believe that a great attempt must be made to establish a great international organization as a means of settling international disputes. War is a relic of barbarism, and, *as law has succeeded violence in the settlement of individuals' disputes*, SO IT IS DESTINED TO SETTLE NATIONAL CONTROVERSIES.

"We are fighting for a just and lasting peace. Three conditions must be fulfilled—first, the sanctity of treaties must be re-established; second, territorial settlement must be based on the right of self-determination—the consent of the governed; lastly, the creation of an international organization to limit armaments and diminish the probability of war.

"To secure these conditions the British Empire is prepared to make even greater sacrifices."

The four main points that are spread out over the preceding page are demands for—

Free Peoples;

Equal National Rights;

Sanctity of National Obligations, and

International Government, to consist of real International Law and three departments of government—Legislative, Executive and Judicial Departments. This law and the departments of international government are surely to be established in the peace treaty, *because of the dominancy of Democracies*. Therefore the world's statesmen should squarely face the issue and accept it, as have the British Liberals (pages 42, 65, below), including the British Labor party (page 66, below); also the French Chamber of Deputies (page 8, above), the French Federation of Labor (page 65, below), and the United States (pages 44, 45, 48, 50, below). Something of President Wilson's latest statement we have just quoted (page 39) and he also says:

"The program of World Peace, therefore, is our program, the only possible program. As we see it it is this:

"XIV. A general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states alike."

Thus by means of "specific covenants" the national rights are to be marked out, and these covenants are to be enforced. There is to be no room for undefined national rights, as at present; and all disputes must be settled peacefully—no more competition in armament. In the words of paragraph IV of President Wilson's proposal:

"Adequate guarantees [are to be] taken that *national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with* DOMESTIC *safety*."

DEVELOPMENT OF TO-DAY'S PROGRAM FOR WORLD LIBERATION.

In the year 1795, at a time when the people of the United States had demonstrated the entire practicability of their own self-government, and that the federation of theretofore sovereign states was practicable, resulting in civil liberty and its orderly peace, there was published in Prussia a small volume entitled in our language *Perpetual Peace.* The author was the scientist and philosopher, Immanual Kant, whose grandfather on his father's side was Scotch. Located as Kant was in a land ruled by an absolute monarch, he was obliged to be discreet in his wording. In one of the sections he points out that where the people's interests are represented in the government there is, as far as consistent, an avoidance of war, whereas it might be to the interest of a king to order a war. Kant saw the tendency in the world towards higher and higher stages for mankind and he looked ahead to a time when throughout the world the People should rule, *and, therefore, that they would develop a world-wide International Government,* to be followed by Perpetual Peace.*

In 1842, in England, the seer whom we know as Alfred Tennyson, penned the poem *Locksley Hall,* wherein he prophesied the coming of "The Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World," with the whole wide earth "lapt in universal law." He also saw that the change would come in war in which the People were to win and that they would continue as self-governing sovereigns. He said:

"For I dipt into the future, far as human eye could see,
Saw the vision of the world, and all the wonders that would be;

Saw the heavens filled with commerce, argosies of magic sails,
Pilots of the purple twilight, dropping down with costly bales;

Heard the heavens filled with shouting, and there rained a ghastly dew
From the nations' airy navies grappling in the central blue;

Far along the world-wide whisper of the south-wind rushing warm,
With the standards of the peoples plunging through the thunderstorm;

Till the war-drum throbbed no longer, and the battle-flags were furled
In the Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World.

There the common-sense of most shall hold a fretful world in awe,
And the kindly earth shall slumber, lapt in universal law."

These lines have been a great inspiration to mankind.

At the time that Tennyson wrote the foregoing the idea of the development of mankind was existent among the more thoughtful scholars for the pages of history demonstrated it; but the *process* of development was as yet only dimly seen. In 1859 the keen-sighted student, Charles Darwin, published the book upon which he had been working for twenty-five years, demonstrating something of the process whereby the physical bodies of living beings have been developed, the title of the volume being, *The Origin of Species.* Gradually the idea of *development* as a law of

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*Kant, in his *Philosophy of Law,* section 61, says: "It is only by a Congress of this kind [founded upon a political constitution, as is the United States] *that the idea of a Public Right of Nations can be established,* and that the settlement of their differences *by the mode of civil process and not by the barbarous means of war,* can be realized."

nature was accepted by the scientists, as it had been accepted by the philosophers, supplanting the idea that each species of organic being in our world had been *specially created.*

In 1889 was published a volume entitled *The State,* presenting in terse analytical form the history of the development of man's activities in the field of Government. This volume was the first of its kind of any considerable size. It traced the rise of human government. The preface says: "In preparing this volume I labored under the disadvantage of having no model. So far as I was able to ascertain, no textbook of like scope and purpose had hitherto been attempted." The author is Woodrow Wilson, Ph. D., President of the United States, at that time Professor of History and Political Economy, Wesleyan University.

We now pass to the year 1914 and present some of the declarations by the governments of the Allies.

Declarations by the Allies, 1914.

Preliminary to doing so we present the treaty of alliance which took the place of the *entente cordial.* Five weeks after the outbreak of the war the following formal treaty was signed by the parties named herein:

"The British, French, and Russian Governments mutually engage *not to conclude peace separately during the present war.* The three governments agree that when terms of peace come to be discussed no *one* of the Allies will demand terms of peace *without the previous agreement of each of the other Allies.*"

Later the parties to this program included at least three other governments: the Japanese, Serbian and Italian Governments.

Time after time the Prime Ministers in Great Britain and France have publicly declared their Government's aims in the war. Mr. Asquith, in a speech at the Guildhall, London, November 9, 1914, the first year of the war, stated more explicitly than he had yet done Great Britain's aims:

"We shall never sheathe the sword which we have not lightly drawn until Belgium recovers in full measure all, and more than all, that she has sacrificed, until France is adequately secured against the menace of aggression, until the rights of the smaller nationalities of Europe are placed upon an unassailable foundation, *and until the military domination of Prussia is* WHOLLY AND FINALLY DESTROYED."

Here are four very important propositions.

At the assembling of the French Parliament, December 22, 1914, M. Viviani, the premier, in the ministerial declaration read to the Chamber of Deputies, said:

"Since, in spite of their attachment to peace, France and her Allies have been obliged to endure war, they will wage it to the end. Faithful to the signature which she set to the Treaty of September 4 last, in which she engaged her honour—that is to say, her life—France, in accord with her Allies, will not lay down her arms until she has avenged outraged right, regained forever the provinces torn from her by force, restored to heroic Belgium the fullness of her material prosperity and her political independence, *and broken Prussian militarism,* so that on the basis of justice she may rebuild a regenerated Europe."

It is clear that both the French and the British Governments this early in the war were agreed that Prussian Militarim *must be broken,* and the British asserted that it must be "wholly and finally destroyed."

How best can the military domination of Prussia be "wholly and finally detroyed?" The British idea was stated by the Prime Minister, Mr. Asquith. in a speech September 25, 1914, three weeks after the signing of the treaty between the Allies. He said:

Maintenance of Public Right.

"I should like beyond this inquiry into causes and motives, to ask your attention and that of my fellow-countrymen to the end which, in this war, we ought to keep in view. Forty-four years ago, at the time of the war of

1870, Mr. Gladstone used these words. He said: 'The greatest triumph of our time will be the enthronement of the idea of public right as the governing idea of European politics.' Nearly fifty years have passed. Little progress, it seems, has as yet been made towards that good and beneficent change, but it seems to be now at this moment as good a definition as we can have of *our* European policy—*the idea of Public Right*. What does it mean when translated into concrete terms? It means first and foremost, the clearing of the ground by the definite repudiation of Militarism as the governing factor in the relation of states and of the future moulding of the European world. It means next that room must be found and kept for the independent existence and the free development of the smaller nationalities, each with a corporate consciousness of its own. Belgium, Holland, Switzerland and the Scandinavian countries, Greece and the Balkan States—they must be recognized as having exactly as good a title as their powerful neighbors, more powerful in strength and in wealth, 'to a place in the sun.' And it means finally, or it ought to mean, perhaps, by a slow and gradual process, the substitution of force, for the class of competing ambition, for groupings and alliances and a precarious equipoise, FOR A REAL EUROPEAN PARTNERSHIP BASED ON THE RECOGNITION OF THE EQUAL RIGHTS, AND ESTABLISHED AND ENFORCED BY A COMMON WILL. [THE FEDERATION OF EUROPE.] A year ago that would have sounded like a Utopian idea. It is probably one that may not, or will not be realized either to-day or to-morrow. BUT WHEN THIS WAR IS DECIDED IN FAVOR OF THE ALLIES IT WILL AT ONCE COME WITHIN THE RANGE AND BEFORE LONG WITHIN THE GRASP OF EUROPEAN STATESMANSHIP."

This prophetic utterance was made during the second month of the war. Notice that the proposal is for International Government—the existence of "a common will"; also on the democratic basis of Equal Rights. Later in the war this idea was expanded into a plan for the Commonwealth of Nations—the Federation of the World.

Three days after the British Liberal leader had declared the Government's position, the Conservative Leader, Mr. Bonar Law, endorsed the plan. He used different words, saying:

"We have no desire to humiliate the German people, but we are determined that this war, with all the cruel suffering which it has entailed and will entail, shall not be fought in vain. We are determined that in our time and in that of our children NEVER AGAIN SHALL THAT DREAD SPECTRE, WHICH HAS HAUNTED US LIKE A NIGHTMARE, HAVE POWER TO FRIGHTEN. *We have put our hand to the plow, and we will not turn back until we have made sure that the law not of Might but of Right, that the law not of Force but of Humanity and Justice,* IS THE LAW WHICH MUST GOVERN THE WORLD."

This statement is clear-cut and definite, supporting the declaration by the head of the party in power.

Fourteen months later a Conservative leader, Arthur Balfour, voiced the opposite view—the Conservative program—saying:

"Are the powerful always going to trample on the weak? Is the fate of the small nations always to be a miserable fate? To me, and I believe to all men of English speech, wherever they live, to whatever nation they may belong, it seems that the future of our race—the international future of our race—lies in, *so far as possible*, SPREADING WIDE THE GRIP AND POWER OF INTERNATIONAL LAW, OF RAISING MORE AND MORE THE DIGNITY OF TREATIES BETWEEN STATES, MORE AND MORE STRIVING THAT CONTROVERSIES BETWEEN STATES—those small causes of friction which arise between different governments, as they arise in any community between individuals—SHOULD BE DECIDED, NOT BY THE SWORD, BUT BY ARBITRATION. That is the ideal which we hold. That is the idea which we wish to see grow in all parts of the world. That is the ideal which, with every contumely, every mark of contempt and derision, the Germans trample under foot both in theory and in practice."

Note carefully the words of limitation: "so far as possible," implying the reservation of *non-justiciable issues* from arbitration. This means the continuance of the existing Sovereign

States—an absence of International Government.

Attitude of the United States, 1916.

Twenty months after Premier Asquith announced to the world the proposed Federation of Europe and the end of militarism, an announcement was made by President Wilson. He did so at the closing banquet of the first annual meeting of the League to Enforce Peace, and said:

"This great war in Europe which broke out so suddenly upon the world two years ago and has swept within its flames so great a part of the civilized world, *has affected us very profoundly*, and we are not only at liberty, IT IS PERHAPS OUR DUTY TO SPEAK VERY FRANKLY OF IT AND OF THE GREAT INTERESTS OF CIVILIZATION WHICH IT AFFECTS. . . .

"We are participants, whether we would or not, in the life of the world. The interests of all nations are our own also. We are partners with the rest. WHAT AFFECTS MANKIND IS INEVITABLY OUR AFFAIR AS WELL AS THE AFFAIR OF THE NATIONS OF EUROPE AND ASIA. . . .

"Repeated utterances by the leading statesmen of most of the great nations engaged in the war have made it plain that their thought has come to this, *that the principle of Public Right must henceforth take precedence over the individual interests of the particular nations*, AND THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD MUST IN SOME WAY BAND THEMSELVES TOGETHER TO SEE THAT THE RIGHT PREVAILS AS AGAINST ANY SORT OF SELFISH AGGRESSION—that henceforth alliance must not be set up against alliance, understanding against understanding, but that there must be a common agreement for a common object, and that at the heart of that common object must lie THE INVIOLABLE RIGHTS OF PEOPLES AND OF MANKIND.

"The nations of the world have become each other's neighbors. It is to their interest that they should understand each other. In order that they may understand each other, *it is imperative that they should agree to cooperate in a common cause, and that they should so act that the guiding principle of that common cause shall be even-handed and impartial Justice.*

"This is undoubtedly the thought of America. THIS IS WHAT WE OURSELVES WILL SAY WHEN THERE COMES PROPER OCCASION TO SAY IT. In the dealings of nations with one another *arbitrary force must be rejected*, and we must move forward to the thought of the modern world, the thought of which peace is the very atmosphere. That thought constitutes a chief part of the passionate conviction of America.

"We believe these fundamental things:

"*First*, that every people has a right to choose the sovereignty under which they shall live [government by the consent of the governed]. Like other nations, we have ourselves no doubt once and again offended against that principle when for a little while controlled by selfish passion, as our franker historians have been honorable enough to admit; but it has become more and more our rule of life and action.

"*Second*, that the small states of the world have a right to enjoy the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon. And,

"*Third*, that the world has a right *to be free from every disturbance of its peace* that has its origin in aggression and disregard of the rights of peoples and nations.

"So sincerely do we believe in these things that I am sure that I speak the mind and wish of the people of America when I say that THE UNITED STATES IS WILLING TO BECOME A PARTNER IN ANY FEASIBLE ASSOCIATION OF NATIONS FORMED IN ORDER TO REALIZE THESE OBJECTS AND MAKE THEM SECURE AGAINST VIOLATIONS.

"There is nothing that the United States wants for itself that any other nation has. We are willing, on the contrary, to limit ourselves along with them to a prescribed course of duty and respect for the rights of others *which will check any selfish passion of our own*, as it will check any aggressive impulse of theirs."

This declaration is ideal. It pledges to work for the ideal but does not *name* the system, as that would have forthwith resulted in vehement controversy,

for as yet nearly all of the statesmen were unprepared for this next step.

An all-important fact is that the foregoing declaration by the head of the United States Government is squarely in line with the policy pursued by him towards the American Republics (pages 75-76, below). This brotherly attitude towards the other American Republics is a demonstration that the United States Government is no longer controlled by the selfish interests—those who are inclined to engage in conquest. Details are in a later chapter.

President Wilson, shortly after he had delivered the foregoing epoch-making address, in a speech on Decoration Day, said:

"I have stated that I believe that the people of the United States are ready to become partners in an alliance of the nations that would guarantee public right above selfish aggression. Some of the public prints have reminded me, as I needed to be reminded, of what General Washington warned us against. He warned us against *entangling alliances.*

"I shall never myself consent to an entangling alliance; but would gladly assent to a *disentangling alliance,* an alliance which would disentangle the peoples of the world from those combinations in which they seek their own separate and private interests, AND UNITE THE PEOPLE OF THE WORLD TO PRESERVE THE PEACE OF THE WORLD UPON A BASIS OF COMMON RIGHT AND JUSTICE. There is liberty there; not limitation. There is freedom, not entanglement. There is the achievement of the highest things for which the United States has declared its principles."

One month later President Wilson as the head of the party in power wrote a preliminary draft of its platform and the National Convention adopted the following plank:

Democratic Party's Pledge.

"We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and both for this end and in the interest of humanity to assist the world in securing *settled peace and justice.*

"We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live [government with the consent of the governed]; that the small states of the world have the right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; that *the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations;* and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world *in any feasible association that will effectively serve these principles and maintain inviolate the complete security of the highways of the seas for the common unhindered use of all nations.*"

This was the declaration of the party in power in the United States in 1916. This pledge by the majority party in the United States Government marked the beginning of a new age in the world. IT MEANT THAT THE PARTY IN POWER IN A LEADING NATION OF EARTH PLEDGED ITSELF TO GO FORWARD TO WORLD PEACE AND JUSTICE, ALONG WITH THE ALLIES, PROVIDED THE VOTERS AT THE POLLS SHOULD RE-ELECT ITS NOMINEES. These nominees were mostly re-elected and at the proper time will undoubtedly carry out their pledge. The imperative need, however, for ending the competition in armament should cause the vote to be non-partisan and unanimous.

The ending of competition in armament was specifically declared for by the Democratic Government of the United States in its Naval Appropriation Act of 1916, signed by the President on August 29, 1916.* This pro-

*This law of 1916, approved by the President on August 29, declares: "It is hereby declared to be the policy of the United States to adjust, and settle its international disputes through mediation or arbitration, to the end that war may be honorably avoided. It looks with apprehension and disfavor

gram for world peace in connection with military and naval preparedness is termed PREPAREDNESS PLUS. We have compared it with the program of the opposition party.*

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upon a general increase of armament throughout the world, *but it realizes that* NO SINGLE NATION CAN DISARM, *and that without a common agreement upon the subject* EVERY CONSIDERABLE POWER MUST MAINTAIN A RELATIVE STANDING IN MILITARY STRENGTH.

"In view of the premises, the President is authorized and requested to invite, at an appropriate time, not later than the close of the war in Europe, all the great Governments of the world to send representatives to a conference which shall be charged with the duty of *formulating a plan for a* COURT OF ARBITRATION OR OTHER TRIBUNAL, to which disputed questions between nations shall be referred for adjudication and PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT, AND TO CONSIDER THE QUESTION OF DISARMAMENT and submit their recommendation to their respective Governments for approval. The President is hereby authorized to appoint nine citizens of the United States, who, in his judgment, shall be qualified for the mission by eminence in the law and by devotion to the caue of peace, to be representatives of the United States in such a conference. * * * Two hundred thousand dollars, or so much thereof as may be necessary, is hereby appropriated and set aside and placed at the disposal of the President to carry into effect the provisions of this paragraph.

"If at any time before the construction authorized by this Act shall have been contracted for there shall have been established, with the co-operation of the United States of America, an international tribunal or tribunals competent to secure *peaceful determinations of* ALL *international disputes*, AND WHICH SHALL RENDER UNNECESSARY THE MAINTENANCE OF COMPETITIVE ARMAMENTS, then and in that case such naval expenditures as may be inconsistent with the engagements made in the establishment of such tribunal or tribunals may be suspended, when so ordered by the President of the United States."

Further Statements by the British Liberal Government, 1916

After President Wilson had made his declaration and the party in power in this country had in substance declared for World Federation, in England another statement was made by Premier Asquith squarely committing the British Liberal Government to the same program. This was at the beginning of the third year of the war, August 1, 1916. He said:

"Early in the war I quoted a sentence which Mr. Gladstone used in 1870. 'The greatest triumph of our time,' he said, 'will be the enthronement of the idea of public right as the governing idea of European policies.' Mr. Gladstone worked all his life for that noble purpose, but he did not live to see its attainment. *By the victory of the Allies the enthronement of public right here in Europe will pass from the domain of ideals and of aspiration* INTO THAT OF CONCRETE REALITIES.

"'What does public right mean?' he continued. 'I will tell you what I understand it to mean—an equal level of opportunity and of independence as between small States and great States; as between weak and strong safeguards, *resting upon the common will of Europe*—AND *I* HOPE NOT OF EUROPE ALONE—AGAINST AGGRESSION; AGAINST INTERNATIONAL COVETNESS AND BAD FAITH; AGAINST THE WANTON RECOURSE IN CASE OF DISPUTE TO THE USE OF FORCE AND THE DISTURBANCE OF THE PEACE; AND, FINALLY, AS A RESULT OF IT ALL, A GREAT PARTNERSHIP OF NATIONS, FEDERATED TOGETHER IN THE JOINT PURSUIT OF A FREER AND FULLER LIFE FOR THE COUNTLESS MILLIONS WHO BY THEIR EFFORTS AND THEIR SACRIFICES, GENERATION AFTER GENERATION, MAINTAIN PROGRESS AND ENRICH THE INHERITANCE OF HUMANITY.'"

On October 23, 1916, the British Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Lord Grey, in an address to the representatives of the foreign press in London, said:

"What is the spirit in which the war

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*The publication is a 64-page pamphlet. It was issued during the 1916 national campaign in the United States. Price 10 cents.

is being carried on by the Allies and ourselves to-day? I take it from the words of the Prime Minister the other day: *'We shall fight until we have established the supremacy of Right over Force, Free Development under Equal Conditions, each in accordance with its own genius of all states, great and small, which build up the family of civilized mankind.'"*

This describes International Government, as also does the pledge for the Federation of the World.

Change in British Cabinet, December, 1916.

Democracies experience great difficulty in a hard-fought war until they learn that the exercise of the war-power requires a two-fold division of activities by the people's representatives: the legislative department of the government should shape the broad policies, while a small executive body or a single great leader should apply the agreed-upon policies. In Great Britain and France during this war the executive body was too large for more than two years, resulting disastrously at times. Then David Lloyd George, one of the successful executives, insisted that Britain's day-by-day war policy should be shaped by a *committee of five, of whom two should not be charged with other duties.* George further insisted that the then premier, the Rt. Hon. Herbert H. Asquith, should not be a member of that War Committee. The premier resigned and then without holding an election of the members of the Commons, due to the war, the King invited the opposition leader, Rt. Hon. Bonar Law, to form a cabinet. He declined and the King invited Lloyd George, the Liberal, to form a government. He accepted and succeeded in forming a ministry which to the present writing has received the support of a majority in the Commons. The War Committee consists of the premier, one member of the Labor Party and three members of the Unionist party—the conservatives. But the war problems are handled principally by the premier and the labor member, they being the two who are not heads of other departments. The Cabinet consists of thirty-three members, a majority of whom are Unionists.

For twelve months this Coalition Ministry has conducted the war and with remarkable efficiency. In France, too, a change to a small War Committee was established December, 1916, along with the issuance of decrees where quick action is needed. In Italy early in the war a Coalition Government was formed; and on June 19, 1916, a reorganization placed the Conservative leader as Premier, along with four of his party associates, and representatives of each of the other parties.

Under this regime of Coalition Governments, which has continued for thirteen months, they have professed to stand for the splendid program for World Liberation announced by the United States (pages 6-8, above), *but they have failed to promise liberation to their own captive nations, and they have failed to renounce their treaties amongst themselves for conquest in the Central Empires* (page 62, below). This reactionary conduct by these Coalition Governments has produced wide-spread disaster for their people (page 65, below).

Shortly after these Coalition Governments came into power, they, on January 10, 1917, in a joint note to the United States, answered President Wilson's inquiry as to their war aims, accepting the program of the preceding British Liberal Government for "A LEAGUE OF NATIONS WHICH SHALL ASSURE PEACE AND JUSTICE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD." Details of the statement by the Coalition Governments are at page 4, above.

Twelve days after these governments had answered President Wilson, he issued a reply, which applies also to the Central Powers. In a message to the United States Senate, in person, he said:

President Wilson's Message to the Senate, January 22, 1917.

(See pages 5-6, above.) Also President Wilson said:

"It will be absolutely necessary that a force be created as a guarantor of the permanency of the settlement so much greater than the force of any nation now engaged or any alliance hitherto formed or projected than no nation, no probable combination of nations could face or withstand it. If the peace presently to be made is to endure, *it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind.*

"The terms of the immediate peace agreed upon will determine whether it is a peace for which such a guarantee can be secured. The question upon which the whole future peace and policy of the world depends is this: *Is the present war a struggle for a just and secure peace, or only for a new balance of power?* If it be only a struggle for a new balance of power, who will guarantee, who can guarantee, the stable equilibrium of the new arrangement? Only a tranquil Europe can be a stable Europe. THERE MUST BE, NOT A BALANCE OF POWER, BUT A COMMUNITY OF POWER; NOT ORGANIZED RIVALRIES, BUT AN ORGANIZED COMMON PEACE.

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"The equality of nations upon which peace must be founded if it is to last must be AN EQUALITY OF RIGHTS; the guarantees exchanged must neither recognize nor imply a difference between big nations and small, between those that are powerful and those that are weak. *Right* must be based upon *the common strength*, not upon individual strength, *of the nations upon whose concert peace will depend.* Equality of territory or of resources there of course cannot be; nor any other sort of equality not gained in the ordinary peaceful and legitimate development of the peoples themselves. But no one asks or expects anything more than an equality of rights. Mankind is looking now for freedom of life, not for equipoise of power.

"*And there is a deeper thing involved than even equality of right among organized nations.* NO PEACE CAN LAST, OR OUGHT TO LAST, WHICH DOES NOT RECOGNIZE AND ACCEPT THE PRINCIPLE THAT GOVERNMENTS DERIVE ALL THEIR JUST POWERS FROM THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED, AND THAT NO RIGHT ANYWHERE EXISTS TO HAND PEOPLES ABOUT FROM SOVEREIGNTY TO SOVEREIGNTY AS IF THEY WERE PROPERTY.* I take it for granted, for instance, if I may venture upon a single example, that statesmen everywhere are agreed that there should be a united, independent, and autonomous Poland, *and that henceforth inviolable security of life, of worship, and of industrial and social development should be guaranteed* TO ALL PEOPLES WHO HAVE LIVED HITHERTO UNDER THE POWER OF GOVERNMENTS DEVOTED TO A FAITH AND PURPOSE HOSTILE TO THEIR OWN.

"I speak of this, not because of any desire to exalt an abstract political principle which has always been held very dear by those who have sought to build up liberty in America, but for the same reason that I have spoken of the other conditions of peace which seem to me clearly indispensable—because I wish frankly to uncover realities. *Any peace which does not recognize and accept this principle will inevitably be upset.* It will not rest upon the affections or the convictions of mankind. The ferment of spirit of whole populations will fight subtly and constantly against it, and all the world will sympathize. The world can be at peace only if its life is stable, and there can be no stability where the will is in rebellion, where there is not tranquillity of spirit and a sense of justice, of freedom, and of right.

"*So far as practicable, moreover, every great people now struggling towards a full development of its resources and of its powers* SHOULD BE ASSURED A DIRECT OUTLET TO THE GREAT HIGHWAYS OF THE SEA. Where this cannot be done by the cession of territory, it can no doubt be done by the neutralization of direct rights of way under a general guarantee which will assure the peace itself. With a right comity of arrangement no nation need be shut

*This should apply, doubtless, to all of the captive nationalities except that Alsace and Lorraine have been deliberately denuded of French and Alsatians. The Italians, Roumanians and other nationalities should decide for themselves their own destiny. Possibly they may each desire independence.

away from free access to the open paths of the world's commerce.

"AND THE PATHS OF THE SEA MUST ALIKE IN LAW AND IN FACT BE FREE. The freedom of the seas is the *sine qua non* of peace, equality, and co-operation. No doubt a somewhat radical reconsideration of many of the rules of international practice hitherto thought to be established may be necessary in order to make the seas indeed free and common in practically all circumstances for the use of mankind, but the motive for such changes is convincing and compelling. There can be no trust or intimacy between the peoples of the world without them. *The free, constant, unthreatened intercourse of nations is an essential part of the process of peace and of development.* It need not be difficult either to define or to secure the freedom of the seas if the governments of the world sincerely desire to come to an agreement concerning it.

"*It is a problem closely connected with* THE LIMITATION OF NAVAL ARMAMENTS AND THE CO-OPERATION OF THE NAVIES OF THE WORLD IN KEEPING THE SEAS AT ONCE FREE AND SAFE. *And the question of limiting naval armaments opens the wider and perhaps more difficult question of* THE LIMITATION OF ARMIES AND OF ALL PROGRAMMES OF MILITARY PREPARATION. Difficult and delicate as these questions are, they must be faced with the utmost candour and decided in a spirit of real accommodation if peace is to come with healing in its wings, and come to stay. Peace cannot be had without concession and sacrifice. *There can be no sense of safety and equality among the nations if great preponderating armaments are henceforth to continue here and there to be built up and maintained.* The statesmen of the world must plan for peace and nations must adjust and accommodate their policy to it as they have planned for war and made ready for pitiless contest and rivalry. *The question of armaments, whether on land or sea,* IS THE MOST IMMEDIATELY AND INTENSELY PRACTICAL QUESTION CONNECTED WITH THE FUTURE FORTUNES OF NATIONS AND OF MANKIND.

"I have spoken upon these great matters without reserve and with the utmost explicitness because it has seemed to me to be necessary if the world's yearning desire for peace was anywhere to find free voice and utterance. *Perhaps I am the only person in high authority amongst all the peoples of the world who is at liberty to speak and hold nothing back.* I am speaking as an individual, and yet I am speaking, also, of course, as the responsible head of a great government, and I feel confident that I have said what the people of the United States would wish me to say. May I not add that I hope and believe that I AM IN EFFECT SPEAKING FOR LIBERALS AND FRIENDS OF HUMANITY IN EVERY NATION AND OF EVERY PROGRAMME OF LIBERTY? I would fain believe that I am speaking for the silent mass of mankind everywhere who have as yet had no place or opportunity to speak their real hearts out concerning the death and ruin they see to have come already upon the persons and the homes they hold most dear.

"And in holding out the expectation that the people and Government of the United States will join the other civilized nations of the world in guaranteeing the permanence of peace upon such terms as I have named I speak with the greater boldness and confidence because it is clear to every man who can think that there is in this promise no breach in either our traditions or our policy as a nation, but a fulfillment, rather, of all that we have professed or striven for:

"I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world: THAT NO NATION SHOULD SEEK TO EXTEND ITS POLITY OVER ANY OTHER NATION OR PEOPLE, *but that every people should be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and powerful.*

"I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competitions of power, catch them in a net of intrigue and selfish rivalry, and disturb their own affairs with influences intruded from without. THERE IS NO ENTANGLING ALLIANCE IN A CONCERT OF POWER. WHEN ALL UNITE TO ACT IN THE SAME SENSE AND WITH THE SAME PURPOSE ALL ACT IN THE COMMON INTEREST AND ARE FREE TO LIVE THEIR OWN LIVES UNDER A COMMON PROTECTION.

"I am proposing GOVERNMENT BY THE CONSENT OF THE GOVERNED; that FREEDOM OF THE SEAS which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that MODERATION OF ARMAMENTS which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.

"These are American principles, American policies. We could stand for no others. And they are also the principles and policies of forward looking men and women everywhere, of every modern nation, of every enlightened community. They are the principles of mankind and must prevail."

These proposals by the President may be summarized as follows:

Summary of the President's Proposals—Comments.

That the terms of peace between the two ruling powers in the world, the warring *Alliances*, should provide for their being merged into *one ruling power—a "Concert of Power,"— on the democratic basis of free peoples and "equality of rights," with home rule in all things within each of the several nations, so that every people shall "be left free to determine its own polity, its own way of development, unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little along with the great and the powerful."*

In other words, freedom for the existing captive nations, along with "government with the consent of the governed" for all of the other peoples, and the Federation of the World, with an International Government—the establishment of civil liberty in international relations. Such is the proposal for World Liberation!

To the same effect are the following statements by President Wilson in his later War Meessage, April 2, 117:

"A steadfast concert for peace can never be maintained except by a partnership of democratic nations. No autocratic government could be trusted to keep within it or observe its covenants. . . . Only free people can hold their purpose and their honor steady to a common end and prefer the interests of mankind to any narrow interest of ther own. . . . The world must be made safe for democracy. *Its peace must be planted* UPON THE TESTED FOUNDATIONS OF LIBERTY.

"But the right is more precious than peace, and we shall fight for the things which we have always carried nearest our hearts—for democracy, for the right of those who submit to authority to have a voice in their own governments, for the rights and liberties of small nations, for a universal dominion of right *by such a concert of free peoples* as shall bring peace and safety to all nations AND MAKE THE WORLD ITSELF AT LAST FREE. [The establishment of International Government controlled by Democracies.]"

Still later, President Wilson in a letter to the people of the United States, said:

"True Americans, those who toil for home and the hope of better things, whose lifted eyes have caught the vision of a Liberated World, have said that of the policy of 'blood and iron' there shall be an end and that Equal Justice, which is the heart of democracy, shall rule in its stead!"

This program is such that the nations of the world *will have no farther need for armament*—there will exist free peoples everywhere, all co-operating through human government in international affairs, whereby permanent peace and justice are to exist. Armaments will gradually be discarded. This feature is as yet but little understood. A present-day illustration of the needlessness of armaments where there is civil liberty is our 48 States of the United States, also the British Commonwealth of Nations (page 57, below), and see our proposed constitution (page 34, above).

This United States' program for World Liberation, including Free Peoples, has been expressly adopted by Great Britain and France (pages 7-8, above), and expressly adopted, possibly, by each of the other Allies. *They all are pledged to it in their joint note of January* 10, 1916, (page 4, column 1, above).

This is inspiring!

Existing Disheartening and Chaotic Conditions to Be Followed by World Liberation.

But there also are disheartening and chaotic conditions; for example, the severe defeats for the Allies—the withdrawal of Giant Russia from the war, the surrender by a section of the Italian army in October and the ensuing disaster in Italy, together with the massing of troops by the enemy upon the western front and the opening of a gigantic effort to break through before the United States can get many troops into the fight.

While this is true it should simply serve to cause us to scan more closely our plan of campaign, *striving to lay the lines so as to square with the World Liberation program.* UNQUESTIONABLY THERE IS A DIVINE PLAN AND IT IS NOT TO BE THWARTED. We can delay the ending of the war, *but we cannot defeat the achievement of World Liberation in this war!*

To help us to realize more fully what is taking place and what the outcome must be, we describe something of the stupendous changes through which we are rapidly passing.

Division II.

THE END OF AN AGE--THIS WORLD WAR A SPEEDING-UP PROCESS FOR THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD.

The development of the various races and sub-races of mankind is an intricate process, necessarily, illustrating the marvelous wisdom of our Creator. During the past eighteen years the time has been reached when as a result of the increasing knowledge of mankind, due to a multiplicity of improvements, such as the printing press, the public school, the right of free speech, free press and freedom of conscience, the advanced portions of humanity—the self-governing stock—have come into power—*the political slaves of yesterday are the masters of to-day* AND THIS WORLD WAR IS EVIDENTLY A SPEEDING-UP PROCESS, ENABLING THEM TO GET A FIRMER HOLD OF THE GOVERNMENTS, AND TO ACCOMPLISH OTHER RESULTS WHICH IN ORDINARY TIMES MIGHT HAVE BEEN SPREAD OUT THROUGH A CENTURY, OR MIGHT HAVE ALTOGETHER FAILED FOR A TIME. In the words of Premier Lloyd George in a speech at the celebration in London of the entrance of the United States into the war:

"I am the last man in the world to say that the succor which is given us from America is not in itself something to rejoice at and to rejoice at greatly. But I also say that I can see more in the knowledge that America is going to win a right to be at the conference table when the terms of peace are discussed. *That conference will settle the destiny of nations and the course of human life for God knows how many ages!* IT WOULD HAVE BEEN A TRAGEDY, A TRAGEDY FOR MANKIND, IF AMERICA WERE NOT TO BE THERE, AND THERE WITH ALL HER INFLUENCE AND HER POWER.

"I can see peace, not a peace to be a beginning of war, not a peace which will be an endless preparation for strife and bloodshed, but a real peace.

"This world is an old world. You in America have never had the rocking war that has rolled like an ocean over Europe. Europe has always lived under the menace of the sword. When this war began, two-thirds of Europe was under autocratic rule. Now it is the other way about, and democracy means peace. The democracy of France hesitated, the democracy of Italy hesitated long before it entered, the democracy of this country sprang back with a shudder and would never have entered that cauldron had it not been for the invasion of Belgium, *and if Prussia had been a democracy there would have been no war.*

"Many strange things have happened in this war—aye, and stranger things will come and they are coming rapidly. There are times in history when this world spins so leisurely along its des-

tined course that it seems for centuries to be at a standstill. THERE ARE AWFUL TIMES, WHEN IT RUSHES ALONG AT GIDDY PACE, COVERING THE TRACK OF CENTURIES IN A YEAR. THOSE ARE THE TIMES WE ARE LIVING IN NOW.

"Six weeks ago Russia was an autocracy. She is now one of the most advanced democracies in the world. To-day we are waging one of the most devastating wars that the world has ever seen. *To-morrow, to-morrow, not perhaps a distant to-morrow, war may be abolished forever from the category of human crimes.* This war may be something like that fierce outburst of winter which we are now witnessing before we experience the joys of summer.

"It is written of those gallant men who won the victory on Monday—the men from Canada. from Australia, and from this country—it is written of those gallant men that they attacked *at dawn.* Fitting work for the dawn—to drive out of forty miles of French soil those miscreants who had defiled her freedom. They attacked with the dawn! It is a significant phrase.

"In this war there is coming the breaking up of the despotism of Turkey, which for centuries has acted as a cloud upon the sunniest of lands. it has freed all Russia—freed her from an oppression which has covered her as a shroud for so long, and there is the great declaration by President Wilson!

"These and other great nations represented in this struggle for freedom are the Heralds of the Dawn. And the armies of those nations are marching forward in the full radiance of that dawn! And soon the Frenchmen, the Americans, the British and Russians, aye, Serbians and Belgians, Montenegrins, and Rumanians, will emerge into the full light of the perfect day!"

That certainly is the tendency, and the Creator knows how to accomplish the desired ends! *When the hour for man's liberation strikes the gates of progress swing open!* This World War is a mighty speeding-up process, enabling the recently freed slaves of the ruling few to achieve advances utterly impossible in ordinary times. *When the proper time comes for ending the War it will come about, and not before.* THE WAY THE END WILL COME, DOUBTLESS, WILL BE THROUGH THE DISSEMINATION OF KNOWLEDGE AS TO THE PRACTICABILITY OF THE FEDERATION OF THE WORLD. Let us each do our utmost to spread the news!

What are to be the chief features of the forthcoming New Age?

Division III.

THE FORTHCOMING NEW AGE.

Judging from the trend of civilization there is to exist the rule of the People—Democracy. Development in this direction is surely to continue. The evident aim of the Creator is the all-around development of mankind. That is Nature's plan.

But at present something like one-half of the world's population are *not* as yet developed to the stage where they are self-governing—*they are either held as captive nations or are ruled by men of their own nationality.* And even should they be freed by the existing democracies some of these by themselves would not be able to establish and maintain a democracy. Therefore in the existing World War the aim of the democracies must be—

(1) *To free all of the subject peoples*—which does not mean an interference in any Constitutional Monarchy; and

(2) *To provide protection for the politically backward nations, under the authority of the International Government.*

Nothing less can be accepted. Every instinct of manhood and womanhood is for the ending of political slavery—the ending of political parasitism, the rule of the few. Just as chattel slavery has passed, so will political slavery—the taking of the products of labor

by the sleight-of-hand process known as the Rule of the Few—Autocracy. Only during the past eighteen years has the real rule of the People begun except sporadically (page 13, above); and as yet the industrial system is almost wholly of the old regime —private monopolies exist on every hand. But this hard-fought war is enabling the masses of men to assert themselves, forcing the powerful few to submit to much needed regulation. Also the ideal of a real democracy as against an autocracy is unitedly being proclaimed, *carrying public sentiment farther for human liberty than it otherwise would have advanced in a century.* Also the men and women are being put in training for the furtherance of Public Welfare, *so that when peace shall return and the holders of unjust legal privileges shall object to just laws they will encounter the iron will of a really New Civilization—the New Age.* Almost as by magic the dominant sentiment has changed from that which supported Private Monopolies and the resulting robbery of the public, to insistence that Just Relations shall exist.

Thus there exists a really New Age —the ideal has become dominant, calling for needed legislation to straighten out the industrial system.

To-day with the World War still being waged the needed next step is that these things shall be seen, clearly seen, in order that the Allied Powers may properly shape their War Aims. THE MORE QUICKLY THE SITUATION CAN BE SEEN BY THE ALLIED STATESMEN THE MORE QUICKLY WILL COME THE ENDING OF THE WAR. THE GOD WHO HAS BROUGHT CIVILIZATION TO ITS PRESENT HEIGHT CAN CERTAINLY BRING ABOUT THE NEEDED WORLD LIBERATION! A LOVING AND A JUST CREATOR HAS DEVELOPED THE CONDITIONS TO THE POINT WHERE THE RULE OF THE FEW IS NO LONGER TO BE PERMITTED—THIS IS THE VERY FIRST OPPORTUNITY FOR CO-ORDINATING THE DEMOCRACIES SO AS TO RESCUE THE REST OF MANKIND, AND THE MOVEMENT IS GOING TO WIN!

In support of this view is the fact that the United States is enthusiastically fighting for it, as also is Great Britain, France and most of the other allies—possibly all of them. Following are some of the steps in planning the details of this war aim:

Division IV.

FARTHER DETAILS.

Part I.

THE STEPS IN PLANNING DETAILS OF THE WAR AIMS.

The starting point in planning the details of the war aims is to decide as to the character of

The Forthcoming World Organization.

Owing to the dominance of Democracies the system is to be a *Federation*, so as to retain the largest possible degree of National Liberty.

And there will be required an *International Constitution* so as to set forth in succinct form the terms of the federation.

This constitution will be the fundamental *Law*, which will include provisions for the formation of *three coordinated Departments of International Government*, thereby arranging for the establishment of International Civil Liberty. *Thus will be ended the long night of international anarchy and armed force—mankind is about to enter into the New Time*, asked for as fol-

lows in the Browning Settlement, London, early in this World War:

God make the World one State!
All nations, small and great,
One civic whole!
Self-ruled each people be!
All peoples linked and free!
Glorious in unity
From pole to pole!

One World, one destiny:
One race, one family:
One God above!
All States unheld in one,
All laws excelled by One,—
One Life, One Love.

This unity of power in God *is about to result in a unity of power upon earth through the dominance of Self-Governing Peoples.* In other words, the two warring Alliances, one of which is the United Democracies and their progressive allies, *is about to merge into one ruling power for the whole wide world*—WORLD FEDERATION. That is to be the outcome of this World War. The world is where this federation is to be established, as we have pointed out at pages 38-40, above. Only by squarely facing the full meaning of it can the details of the proper terms of peace be framed.

We now come to the second element of the details in the plans for the proper war aims of the Allies:

Free Peoples.

1. The freeing of the Captive Nations.

This can readily be agreed to after the warring Alliances shall have agreed to the establishment of World Federation—*that is, shall have agreed to end the competition in armament* BY SUBSTITUTING CIVIL LIBERTY. Then no longer will the safety of Prussia, Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and Turkey depend upon holding their 41 millions of captives; whereas *until* civil liberty is assured they must in self-defense fight on rather than succumb as Captive Nations. *What is about to occur is that all of the Great States are to lose their power to pillage by becoming merged into a United Democracy—World Federation.*

In the words of Edwin Markham in his Twentieth Century poem, written in 1900:

Hark ye, the bugles blowing on the peaks;
And hark, a murmur as of many feet,
The cry of captains, the divine alarm!
Look, the Last Son of Time comes hurrying on,
The strong young Titan of Democracy!
With swinging step he takes the open road,
In love with the winds that beat his hairy breast.

Baring his sunburnt strength to all the world,
He casts his eye around with Jovian glance—
Searches the tracks of old Tradition; scans
With rebel heart the Books of Pedigree;
Peers into the face of Privilege and cries,
Why are you halting in the path of man?
Is it your shoulder bears the human load?
Do you draw down the rains of the sweet heaven,
And keep the green things growing?
. . . Back to Hell!

We know at last the Future is secure:
God is descending from Eternity.

In other words, civil liberty between nations is about to be established, thereby supplanting international anarchy and armed force upon our globe. *This step cannot be taken, however, until mankind has developed to the stage where self-governing peoples and their progressive allies* SHALL DOMINATE THE WORLD. The change is coming in the thunderstorm of war—hard-fought war, so as to speed up the newly established Democracies. At the same time

other and far-reaching events are taking place.

When civil liberty between nations shall be established there will exist in Middle Europe and Asia Minor the five following nationalities, each of which will be desirous of living its own life:

Five Nationalities to Be Freed.

Prussians about	37,000,000
Germans:	
In Germany about	14,000,000
In Austria about	9,000,000
In Hungary about	2,000,000
	25,000,000
Hungarians in Hungary about	10,000,000
Bulgarians about	2,000,000
Turks:	
In Bulgaria about	?
In Turkey about	7,000,000

These are five distinct nationalities and, therefore, when Federal Government is established in a World State *they will each become free to live their own lives—live under their own system of National Government.* But this cannot be as long as competition in armament continues. Under such an awful condition Prussia will doubtless continue her hegemony (leadership) as that will be the only way that Reactionism can hope to continue to succeed. Prussia is in fact today the *owner* of these lesser nations—Germans, Hungarians, Bulgars and Turks. *But as soon as International Government is established by the Democracies the result will be the immediate dissipation of Prussia's great military strength by the freeing of the Hungarians, Bulgars, Turks and even the Germans, all of whom will look back upon Prussian Militarism as the very depths of hell!*

Following are the other captive nations to be freed in Middle Europe and Asia Minor:

Other Captive Nations to Be Freed.

Poles (Slavs):	
In Germany about	3,500,000
In Austria about	4,500,000
Other Slavs in Austria	8,000,000
Slavs in Hungary	4,500,000
Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina	1,500,000
Total Slavs	22,000,000
Rumanians in Hungary	3,000,000
Rumanians in Austria	200,000
Italians in Austria	750,000
French in Germany	250,000
Alsatians in Germany	1,400,000
Danes in Germany	150,000
Lithuanians in Germany	100,000
Sorabians in Germany	150,000
Greeks in Turkey	2,000,000
Kurds and Lazes in Turkey	2,000,000
Arabs and Nestorians in Turkey	7,000,000
Armenians in Turkey	2,000,000
Grand total of captives in the Central Empires	41,000,000

These are about one-third of the total population of the Quadruple Alliance. When civil liberty between nations is established and these several captive nations shall become separated from Prussia and her minions *all of them, the former captors and captives, will be better off, being rid of the conflict between themselves and rid of militarism, things which have kept all of them under the rule of the few.* But this advanced stage in civilization *cannot* be reached until the world has reached the stage where *all* of the politically backward peoples are to receive their freedom—*until the Entente Allies reach the point where they are openly offering to release their own captives they must expect that God will keep them in the war*—"*God is not mocked.*"

We now describe the vast millions of captives who are to be released by the Entente Allies:

World Liberation by the Entente Allies.

The British Commonwealth of Nations, formerly termed the British Empire, covers one-quarter of the globe and embraces one-quarter of the world's population, of various nationalities—English, Scotch, Welsh, Irish, Dutch in South Africa, French in

Canada, etc., under the hegemony of the English. When civil liberty between nations shall be established *then each nationality can and will resume its own National Government but will co-operate with each other in such ways as will be mutually beneficial.* The British Liberals are themselves leading the way, as we will present describe. But we will now state that for more than two years the British Liberals have been agreed that not only Ireland but also England, Scotland and Wales *shall each possess its own National Assembly,* and the change is to be made before the reconstruction that is to follow the war is to be entered upon. To what extent an International Parliament for the British Isles will legislate is uncertain owing to the forthcoming World Federation and the ending of competition in armament. *That form of competition forced the nations together for self-protection, and now the establishment of World Federation is to release them.* The extent of the population in Great Britain is as follows:

United Kingdom:	
England	35,000,000
Scotland	5,000,000
Ireland	5,000,000
Wales	2,000,000
Canada	6,000,000
Newfoundland	250,000
Austrialia	5,000,000
New Zealand	1,000,000
South African Union (white)	1,200,000
India (British India):	
Native population, largely of Aryan (white) stock.	315,000,000
European stock	200,000
Ceylon and Eastern Colonies	5,000,000
West Indies	2,000,000
Africa (natives)	15,000,000

The people of India have been promised their freedom (page 61, below).

Frenchmen in France	40,000,000
Captives to be released in—	
Algeria	5,000,000
West Africa	13,000,000
French Congo	3,500,000
Indo-China	18,000,000
French Guiana	2,300,000
	41,800,000
Italians in Italy	33,000,000
Captives to be released in—	
Tripoli	1,500,000
Bengazia	250,000
	1,750,000
Russians: (1) Slavs:	
Great Russians	55,000,000
Little Russians	23,000,000
White Russians	6,000,000
Poles	8,000,000
(2) Lithuanians and Letts	3,000,000
(3) Finns	5,500,000
(4) Turko-Tartars	14,000,000
(5) Semites (Jews)	5,000,000
(6) Iranians in Asia	2,000,000
	121,000,000

Under the announcement made by the Russian Government on December 28, 1917, these peoples are each to determine for themselves their form of government, which may include independence.

Japanese	50,000,000
Captives to be released in—	
orea	12,000,000
Portuguese, Belgians, Serbians, Rumanians, etc.	
United States	110,000,000
Captives now being freed:—	
Filipinos	8,000,000
Porto Ricans who can ask for Independence	1,200,000

After the formation of the World Federation and the liberation of the captive nations *there will still exist the trade between the several nations as at present,* except that the freed peoples will shut off whatever unfairness now exists.

These freed peoples should assume their fair share of the expense whereby this great blessing is coming to them—*their fair share of the expense of the World War. Also the Neutral Nations that are to receive the stupendous benefits that are to come from the establishment of international civil liberty, including the ending of competition in armament and war,* SHOULD CONTRIBUTE THEIR FAIR SHARE. THEY CANNOT EVADE THIS JUST LIABILITY.

The freed peoples and all other of the nationalities not yet fully self-governing should receive assistance from the Democracies in the form of a National Constitution *setting forth the minimum elements in the system of government*, IN THIS WAY GUARANTEEING FREE INSTITUTIONS. Justice for the backward peoples requires this, as well as the self-interest of Democracies themselves, because only through the existence of Free Peoples can there be ended competition in armament, as President Wilson has repeatedly stated.

One of the results of the establishment of Free Institutions in what today are the politically backward countries will be that capital will be secure and therefore it will rapidly flow into these protectorates. Interest rates will be moderate, *wages will therefore rise —rapidly rise*, ACCOMPANIED BY A GREATLY INCREASED DEMAND FOR IMPORTED GOODS.

2. There is to be brought about the freeing of the peoples who are ruled by the few of their own nationality. This is a more simple problem. The primary thing to do will be for the International Government to issue a National Constitution stating the minimum requirements of self-government and providing administrative courts, officered by its own representatives, whose sole duties should be to ascertain if the liberty-giving provisions are in operation. Under this system each nation will elect its own representatives and be free to decide its own policies provided they are in the direction of self-government and progress. This subject we have considered in the proposed constitution for the International Federation (page 35, above).

Now as to the third great element in the forthcoming new regime:

Equal National Rights.

All of the nations are to stand on an equality—each is to be a Free People. This is a fundamental tenet of the Democracies as we have shown.

The change to this equal rights to freedom is to consist in the 50 National Sovereign States of today becoming merged into an International Sovereign State—the World State. Within this world state all of the several nationalities are to be free, that is, *real Federal Government is to exist*, as follows:

1. The International Government is to be strictly limited to a few international powers;

2. Each National Government is to rule within its sphere;

3. Each State Government within the nation should rule within its proper sphere;

4. Each county government should rule in purely county affairs; and

5. Each township government or village or city government should rule in purely local affairs.

In this manner Co-operation and Freedom will exist, the inevitable outcome of Democracies.

Armament Will No Longer Be Needed.

Owing to the forthcoming existence of free peoples in all parts of the world, armaments will no longer be needed—*peace will reign without compulsion*. Therefore our war aims should provide that for, say, five years the nations may each keep their present day armament, except that a small part of the naval equipment shall be transferred to the World Federation. (See also page 34, above.)

We have described the several elements in our needed war aims—world organization, free peoples, equal national rights, and that each nation may retain most of its armament. Let us next note the splendid application of these and other democratic principles that have been made up to January 25, 1918, and the prospects for complete fruition of world organization in the very near future.

Part II.

APPLICATION OF THE WORLD LIBERATION PROGRAM

The United States.

In the United States the government now in power, re-elected in 1916, is on the whole in line for the immediate application of the World Liberation program. Some years ago it promised freedom to the people of the Philippine Islands and has transferred to them very much of their government. The people of Porto Rico, who had been held as subjects, have been made citizens. Should the majority of them desire independence they will of course receive it. The sovereignty of the people of Mexico has not been infringed (page 76, below); and so justly have our sister American Republics been treated that the result is the New Pan-Americanism, that is developing into a real Federation (page 75, below). Recently has come about the program for the League or Federation of Nations, as we have described. Additional details are in a later chapter.

Great Britain.

In the British Isles the people came into power in 1906 through the triumph of the Liberal, Labor and Irish parties. Then under the premiership of Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the Liberal Government set out to change the outgrown system. The people had come into power in the face of various handicaps placed in their way by the ruling few, and at once the People's Government set about to place all families on an equality before the law:

1. Amid protests from the powerful few the Government and Parliament installed more definite machinery for preventing a veto of proposed legislation by the House of Lords, a set of hereditary rulers. They had lost the veto power under certain circumstances—that is, whenever an issue should be taken to the people and they should return a majority in the House of Commons pledged to the measure. And the People's Government enacted that where the Commons shall pass a bill during three separate years it shall become law without the consent of the House of Lords.

2. Then the Government and Parliament set about to abolish plural voting. Property owners voted in as many districts as they held real estate, and a change to "one man one vote" was nearly established when Germany started the war, resulting in the deferring of this reform.

3. November 20, 1917, the House of Commons by unanimous vote conferred on women the Parliamentary franchise. There are something like 8,000,000 of these new voters.

4. The People's Government has levied a small tax on the real estate within the United Kingdom, the proceeds to be paid into the national treasury. Up to this time the powerful few had exempted the real estate from a national tax. The new law made a beginning, calling for an assessment of the value of all of the real estate in the British Isles. This reform was met with a fierce outcry by the few who had ruled the land.

5. In the year 1901 the House of Lords in a so-called judicial decision, the Taff-Vale case, repealed the statute of 1871 whereby the wage-earners were authorized to organize industrially. This decision by the House of Lords was that the funds of trade unions were liable for damages assessed against them by British courts. This forced the wage-earners into party politics, and they and the other liberal forces won in 1906, as we have pointed out. Then a statute was enacted restoring to the wage-earners the right to organize, on a par with the right of capitalists to organize, who do so by means of private corporations and employers' associations.

6. Then the House of Lords by another act of judicial legislation declared that the funds of the trade unions

could not lawfully be used to pay the salaries of the members of the House of Commons. Under Charles II, in 1660, just after the overthrow of Cromwell's Government, a Conservative Government, had repealed the law whereby the members of the House of Commons were paid a salary. This system of non-payment of salaries in the House of Commons was continued until yesterday, as it were. The present-day official salaries are 400 pounds sterling annually—$2,000.

7. An old age pension was established for the very poor people. This was to keep them from the poor house—enable them to live during their closing years amid their children and grandchildren and in honorable surroundings. At the time of the outbreak of the war some 12,000,000 pounds sterling were thus being distributed. This came from increased taxes levied on the stored-up wealth of those who, had they kept it, would have expended it very largely for extra servants and other luxuries. In place of this it is being paid to those who during their working years had earned it and now are needing it. Germany had possessed such a system for many years, due to the fact that the wage-earners had been striving to get control of the Government and the ones in power had sought to propitiate them.

8. For Ireland a Home Rule system was about to be installed when the starting of the war resulted in the deferring of the event. This was because of determined opposition by the North of Ireland people to being included in Irish Home Rule.

9. One of the very first acts of the People's Government had been to give Home Rule to the Boers whom the preceding Conservative Government had made war upon and had been holding as captives. So well did the Boers make use of their freedom that soon was formed the South African Union—a wide-spread self-governing dominion under the British flag; and when the German autocracy started out to fight the democracies the Boers immediately cast in their lot with the self-governing peoples.

The securing of these various reforms required seven years, and one of the brilliant leaders was a Welsh lawyer, David Lloyd George. The death of Henry Campbell Bannerman the premier was followed by the election to that office of Herbert H. Asquith, who as leader of the fusion forces continued in office longer than any of his predecessors; and he was followed by Lloyd George, December, 1916. It came about through a refusal by George to continue in the Cabinet under the then existing system (page 47, above).

Premier George has been able to carry forward as follows the Liberal International Program:

1. The British Commonwealth of Nations.

Soon after the outbreak of the war the British Liberal Government speaking through the Secretary of State for the Colonies stated that when the time should come for considering the peace terms *the dominions would be consulted.* When President Wilson questioned the belligerents on December 18, 1916, as to their proposed terms of peace, the premiers of the dominions were doubtless consulted, and a formal consultation in person at London was provided. This personal meeting occurred during the spring of 1917, and a policy-determining body was formed termed the Imperial War Conference, also there was the Imperial War Cabinet. *In these meetings all of the questions of foreign policy were discussed, and were unanimouly decided, in the War Conference, at least,* although should there have been a difference of opinion majority-rule was to prevail.*

Here was a far-reaching development, although the system had been started in 1903, followed by another conference in 1907 and each succeeding four years.

Previous to this change of system in 1917 the foreign policy had actually

*Extracts of Proceedings, p. 1.

been decided by the Cabinet members *representing the British Isles,* while now the premiers of the five self-governing dominions and India's representative sat with the "Prime Minister of the United Kingdom and such of his colleagues as deal specially with Imperial affairs [affairs between the several parts of the British state and with foreign affairs]." Unfortunately the Australian Premier could not attend as an election detained him, but he was communicated with from time to time by cable* India was represented by an Indian appointed by the Indian Government.

This democratic system was so successful that by vote of these representatives it is being continued, the membership consisting of the members for the British Isles, as above described, and "the Prime Minister of each of the dominions or some specially accredited alternate of equal authority, and a representative of the Indian people appointed by the Government of India.†

In this way a continuous Imperial Council is being maintained, to meet whenever an important issue as to British Imperial policy is to be decided —foreign affairs and affairs as between the several parts of the British state.

Thus under the British flag the peoples of various nations, including the French in Canada and the Dutch in South Africa, are co-operating as a Federation. The chosen title, as yet unofficial, is THE COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS. This in place of the British Empire—an outgrown shell, a form of organization which stated on its face that an Emperor rules the outlying provinces or nations, and that the foreign policies of the entire British state were determined by the British Isles. Such is no longer the case, *since the development to a Democracy in the British Isles in 1906, followed by superb co-operation by the other democracies within the British state*—Canada, New Foundland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa, *resulting in a continuous International Government,* as we have seen.

Note that the system is that of an International as distinguished from a National Government; that is, *each nation reserves complete internal sovereignty*—the control of immigration, and emigration, imports and exports, etc.*

But these nations co-operate in foreign affairs and do so by majority rule, *whereas nothing is to affect the internal affairs except with the consent of the nations specially interested.*

Here is an example for the other nations of the world, *and it is precisely the system we are proposing.* The progressive allies in this World War have come together in a *War Federation, and, of necessity,* THEY MUST AGREE TO CONTINUE TOGETHER IN A WORLD FEDERATION. That is the only possible way to end the absence of international government—end the existing 50 National Sovereigns and establish Freedom. This will end the existing international anarchy and armed force—end militarism—result in civil liberty.

Returning to the British state, especially note that there is still no way provided whereby the British International Government is authorized to coerce with shot and shell any of its self-governing units. *The tie that is relied upon is still to be the sense of Self-Interest and Duty.* And so it will be for the democracies in the forthcoming World Federation—*there will be no further use for armaments except for police service.* Great Britain should retain her Grand Fleet as long as she cares to—soon it will be tied to the docks so as to use the men within the industries. Germany can keep her monstrous cannon, and so can the Allies; but ere long these cannon will be melted to supply steel for industrial uses.

These conditions are to flow as the

*Imperial War Conference, Extracts of Proceedings, 1917.

†Same citation, p. 5; announcement in House of Commons, May 17, 1917.

*Same citations.

result of the winning of this war by the United Democracies and their Liberal Allies. This power is to rule the world, insisting upon Equal National Rights and Justice. One of its first acts must be to draft a constitution and embody these liberty-giving principles.

The establishment of the British International Democracy has been almost unnoticed except by a few of the political magazines. One-fourth of the peoples of the world, and one-fourth of the territorial area of the world has been brought into a successful Federation, an example to the other three-fourths.

When we bring to mind, also, the successful National Government in the United States, plus the agreed-upon Federation of American Republics (page 75, below) *we have a complete demonstration of the practicability of World Federation!* The fact that civil war has existed in the United States was because the people lost self-government (page 72, below); whereas now the people of the United States are back in power, as the action of their Government conclusively indicates.

2. A Promise of Home Rule to India.

British India has a population of 315,000,000 souls—one-sixth of the entire population of the world. Nine-tenths of the leaders are Aryans—white people, *who are successfully governing themselves in the Native States.* This fact is testified to by the late Keir Hardie, Member of the House of Commons, who, in 1907, the year following the coming into power of the Labor, Liberal and Irish parties, took a trip around the world, spending some time in India. He wrote articles which he placed in a book entitled, *India, Observations and Suggestions.*

He pointed out that the system whereby the Native States are succeeding is Federal Government—the typical Aryan system. There is the Village Council—miniature republics, along with delegates for the county and the state. This system can be established throughout India, he points out, as quickly as there is relaxation from Alien Rule.

To the same effect is the testimony of J. Ramsay Macdonald, another Labor Member of the House of Commons, who visited India three years after Hardie's trip. The title of his book is, *The Awakening of India.* See also Professor Max Mueller's book, *India.*

Under the British Liberal Government the first Secretary of State for India was the noted Liberal, John Morley. *Progressive steps were taken,* which accounts for the comparative absence of revolutionary sentiment while Japan was gloriously coming forward and a revolution in Turkey placed in power a Liberal Government (page 18). At the outbreak of the World War the British Liberal Government promised to the people of India self-government within the British Empire,* which accounts for their splendid support of the British cause. In London and elsewhere the reactionary press, which until then had objected to the freeing of the people of India, assented to the home rule program.* And the Christian leaders in India, including the Bishops of Bombay and of Calcutta, advocated the change.** This has been followed by a formal promise by the British Government through a statement by the Secretary of States for India,† and a simultaneous

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*Sir Henry Cotton, K. C. S. I., in *India; Now and After*, Contemporary Review, Feb. 5, 1915.

***India After the War*, by the Rt. Rev. Bishop of Bombay, Nineteenth Century Magazine, August, 1916.

†In the House of Commons on August 20, 1917, the Secretary of State for India, Mr. Montague, stated that there is to be "*an increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration,*" together with "THE GRADUAL DEVELOPMENT OF SELF-GOVERNING INSTITUTIONS, with a view to the

statement by the Indian Viceroy.*

The people of India are to be admitted to the army, and are to become commissioned officers forthwith.** This OPENS THE WAY FOR AS MANY FIGHTING MEN AND OTHER FORMS OF MAN-POWER AS THE ALLIES MAY NEED. A population six times that in the British Isles, Canada, New Foundland, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa can now be drawn upon, and they are not so far off. In the words of the premier of New Foundland in the Imperial War Conference, during May, 1917: "I think that if the very serious barriers that separate India from the other portions of the Empire had been removed before, the chances are that instead of the contribution they have given to the War, *they would probably have contributed nearly all the men that would have been required.*† To the same effect is a statement by a prominent home rule leader in India in a letter to President Wilson before the granting of India's request.††

The promise of freedom to the people of India—one-sixth of the world's population—is one of the big events in this war. This for the British Isles has been their Great Renunciation—eight political slaves are being liberated for each inhabitant of these islands!

Clearly Great Britain is ready to enter into the World Federation!

France.

France is equally ready. The French people have been leaders in Freedom! Early in the French Revolution at a time when the rest of Europe was starting in to defeat the people's uprising, the French statesmen had the foresight to promise aid to the people wherever they would stand for their own freedom. The future of the French people is bound up with the formation of a League of Nations, in order to end the horrible competition in armament and war. The French declarations in the affirmative we have noted.

AN OBSTRUCTION BY COALITION GOVERNMENTS IN GREAT BRITAIN, FRANCE AND ITALY.

There is, however, a very serious obstruction by the Coalition Governments in Great Britain, France and Italy. They came into power in 1916 pledged to a more vigorous prosecution of the war (page 47, above) and they have succeeded; *but at the same time and in connection with a positive*

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progressive realization of Responsible Government in India as an integral part of the British Empire." Substantial steps in this direction are to be taken in the near future, preliminary to which there is to be a "free and informal exchange of opinion between those in authority at home and in India," also that the two governments are to receive "the suggestions of representative bodies and others." (Parliamentary Debates, House of Commons, August 20, 1917; House of Lords, October 24, 1917.) The Secretary of State for India reached that country on November 11, 1917. He is to report to the home government, which will reach a decision and report to Parliament. (Same citations.)

*House of Common's statement.

**Same citation.

†Imperial War Conference, Excerpts of Proceedings, pp. 120, London ed.

††On June 24, 1917, at Madras, India, Sir Subramaniem, Honorary President of the Home Rule League in India, in a letter to President Wilson, conveyed to him by Mr. and Mrs. Henry Hotchner, urged "*the necessity for an immediate promise of Home Rule—Autonomy—for India, as it would result in an offer from India of at least* FIVE MILLION MEN IN THREE MONTHS FOR SERVICE AT THE FRONT, AND OF FIVE MILLION MORE IN ANOTHER THREE MONTHS." He continued, "India can do this because she has a population of three hundred and fifteen millions—three times that of the United States, *and almost equal to the combined population of all the Allies.* The people of India will do this BECAUSE THEN THEY WILL BE FREE MEN AND NOT SLAVES."

pledge to the United States to aid in the establishment of "peace and justice throughout the world" THEY HAVE BEEN CARRYING FORWARD AN EXACTLY OPPOSITE PROGRAM, as is evidenced by their failure to promise liberation to their own captive nations, as every one knows; coupled with which is a program for the forcible annexation of various peoples and territories now held by the Central Empires,* and a program for holding the main parts of the Central Empires as captives—captives in a military sense, and also to shut them out from economic opportunities. *And this while professing to pledge for the United States program for World Liberation.*

One of the results has been the following criticism by President Wilson, on August 27, 1917, in his answer to the Pope's note:

"Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that *no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple and embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of vengeance or deliberate injury.* The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs from the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—THEIR EQUAL RIGHT TO FREEDOM AND SECURITY AND SELF-GOVERNMENT AND TO A PARTICIPATION UPON FAIR TERMS IN THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES OF THE WORLD—the German people, of course, included, if they will accept equality and not seek domination. . . . *Punitive damages, the dismemberment of empires, the establishment of selfish and exclusive economic leagues, we deem inexpedient and in the end worse than futile, no proper basis for a peace of any kind, least of all for an enduring peace.* THAT MUST BE BASED UPON JUSTICE AND FAIRNESS AND THE COMMON RIGHTS OF MANKIND."

This public criticism by President Wilson of the reactionism of the Coalition Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy has not been sufficient as yet to fully arouse the parliaments and peoples in these countries. Following is an outline of what has occurred:

Details of the Reactionary War Aims of the Coalition Governments.

During December, 1916, the British Liberal Premier and his colleagues resigned from office and were succeeded by David Lloyd George as premier, assisted by the leader of the Labor party, Arthur Henderson, and the leader of the Conservative party, Bonar Law, and by various other members of the Conservative party, including Lord Milner and the former prime minister, Arthur Balfour,* who became the highly important Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. A majority of the cabinet and of the ministry were and still are conservatives—reactionists as concerns liberty and social progress.

In France, too, during December, 1916, there followed a similar change.

*The secret treaties between the Entente are that certain peoples are to be forcibly taken from the Central Empires and be forcibly transferred to France, Italy, Roumania, Russia, and possibly to other members of the alliance (pages 4, 39, above). *Perhaps these peoples may prefer to become independent*—THEY SHOULD DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES EXCEPT THAT IN ALSACE AND LORRAINE THE GERMAN GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN REMOVING THE FRENCH AND THE ALSATIAN INHABITANTS. In the words of President Wilson: "No right anywhere exists to hand people about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were property," (page 48, above).

*Mr. Balfour's non-progressive attitude toward the possibility of establishing civil liberty between nations, as stated by him in 1914, is set forth on page 43, above.

In Italy the change had come during the preceding June and the office of premier was filled by a conservative.

On December 18, 1916, President Wilson questioned each of the belligerents as to their war aims, and on January 10 the Entente Allies answered by means of a joint note. While expressly agreeing with the program of the former Liberal British Government for the establishment of "peace and justice throughout the world" (page 4, above), there has been a failure to go forward with that program, as we have shown.

Twelve days after the Coalition Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy had delivered their answer to President Wilson's inquiry, he replied in a message to the United States Senate, pointing out the necessary elements in the attainment of world peace and justice, which includes "government with the consent of the governed," and he added:

"No right anywhere exists to hand peoples about from sovereignty to sovereignty as though they were property."

At this time, January, 1917, the Russian Czar was dethroned and more and more the Russian people have come into power. The soldiers at the front talked with the enemy soldiers, asking: For what are we fighting?

The German soldiers gave their version: that the capitalists in Great Britain, France, Italy and Russia are desirous of limiting the competition by the Germans; also that these Entente Allies have agreed among themselves to dismember the Central Empires and then to shut them out from international trade. The further claim was made that by means of secret treaties the Russian Government was promised by the Entente Allies that it should receive the Dardenelles.

The Russian soldiers promptly disclaimed a desire to battle for conquest and in their Soldiers' and Sailors' Council they renounced the treaty with their allies whereby Russia was to receive the Dardenelles. Also they called upon their allies to recast their war aims on the basis of "No annexations and no indemnities."

While this was not the proper solution *their allies did not correct them*, resulting, among other things, in President Wilson's biting criticism of the Coalition Governments, as we have shown.

This open criticism by the President on August 27, 1917, hastened events. The French and the British Labor and Socialist parties and the rest of the liberals insisted more and more upon the needed declaration for World Liberation by the Coalition Governments.

In Russia, too, more and more the revolutionists attempted to end the Coalition Governments' program for conquest. *But still these Coalition Governments refused to commit themselves to the details of the United States' program for World Liberation.* These Coalition Governments in Great Britain and France were interpellated time and time again on the subject and each time they answered that negotiations were in progress and that they hoped soon to reach an agreement.

On November 8, 1917, in Russia the Socialist Prime Minister Kerensky was deposed by the extreme radicals, the Bolsheviki, who announced an intention to end the attempt at conquest, their peace terms being, "No annexations and no indemnities." At the end of one month the Bolsheviki Government entered into an armistice with the Central Powers to last for five weeks. An invitation was extended to the Allies to participate in the peace conference. The Allies ignored it.

Of these proceedings as a whole President Wilson in his message to Congress and to the world on December 4, 1917, said:

"All these things [the tides that run now in the hearts of free men everywhere and which the peace congress will recognize] have been true from the very beginning of this stupendous

war; and *I cannot help thinking that if they had been made plain at the very outset [of the Russian Revolution] the sympathy and enthusiasm of the Russian people might have been once for all enlisted on the side of the Allies, suspicion and distrust swept away, and a real and lasting union been effected.*"

When the Russian troops stopped fighting it enabled their enemy to move vast numbers of troops to the Italian and the western fronts. Large numbers were massed against the valiant Italians who had fought their way onto Austrian soil. At the outset of the attack upon the Italians one section of their army surrendered, *refusing to fight for conquest*, thereby opening the way to the ensuing terrible disasters for the Italians.

This dreadful defeat and also the preceding withdrawal of Giant Russia from the war *was directly caused by the reactionary Coalition Governments of Great Britain, France and Italy*, as we have seen. THEY FOR ONE YEAR HAVE REFUSED TO PROMISE LIBERATION FOR THEIR CAPTIVE NATIONS, COUPLED WITH WHICH HAS BEEN AND IS THEIR PROGRAM FOR FORCIBLY ANNEXING VARIOUS PEOPLES AND TERRITORY NOW HELD BY THE CENTRAL EMPIRES (PAGE 63, ABOVE), AND THEIR PROGRAM FOR HOLDING THE MAIN PARTS OF THE CENTRAL EMPIRES AS CAPTIVES—MILITARY CAPTIVES—AND ALSO TO SHUT THEM OUT FROM ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITIES *And this while being pledged to the United States' program for World Liberation*!

Fortunately for mankind there is no prospect that these Conservative Coalition Governments can win the war, as that would hold the entire world in the throes of militarism, as well as hold one-half of the human race as political slaves; *whereas by the restoration to power of the Liberal Governments in Great Britain, France and Italy they, with the co-operation of the rest of the Allies, will surely achieve World Liberation, probably without a crushing victory, for the following reasons*:

The Prussian civilization with its brutal peasants and brutal military leaders (page 27, above) needs the protection of an International Government controlled by a real Democracy; also the Prussian civilization needs foreign trade, and it needs a cessation from the stupendous expenses from competition in armament. Therefore it is probable that when these advantages are offered to the Prussian property-owners, who are the ruling power politically, they will do their utmost to accept, well knowing that nearly all of the world is against them and that they cannot hope to defeat it; and also knowing that at any time there may burst forth amongst them the Revolutionary Socialists.

Also in Austria-Hungary the property owners are likewise looking for a haven of safety, glad to save their lives. Their property will become subject to the system of laws under Democratic Government.

But if the Central Empires shall refuse to accept the World Liberation program *it will simply mean that the Entente Allies will be in a position to carry on the war until the time for World Liberation arrives.* India is ready to supply millions of men and it may be that the Aryans therein are to be given an opportunity to aid more actively in saving the Western civilization.

We now present additional official statements of some of those who are opposing the Coalition Governments:

On December 20, 1917, in the House of Commons, the British Liberal leader, Herbert H. Asquith, said:

"We ought to make it *increasingly clear by every possible means* that the only ends we are fighting for are *Liberty and Justice, for the whole world, through a confederation* of great and*

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*A "confederation" is an aggregation of sovereign states, as compared with a "federation," which is itself the sovereign power. The distinction is that the states in a confederation reserve the right to withdraw.

small states, all to possess equal rights.

"A League of Nations is the ideal for which we are fighting, and we shall continue fighting for it with a clear conscience, clean hands and an unwavering heart!"

Eight days after Mr. Asquith made this statement the British Labor party declared likewise, expressly voicing a demand for *free peoples everywhere*, and for the formation of a League of Nations, specifying, too, the needed territorial readjustments. A committee at once called upon Premier George.

Two days before this action was taken in England, in France the Federation of Labor at its national conference adopted by an almost unanimous vote the war aims set forth by President Wilson, and stated that the purpose of the Russian revolutionaries is virtually the same. *The executive officers of the federation were instructed to do their utmost to induce the French Government to clearly enunciate these war aims.*

On January 5, 1918, a crisis having been reached in the peace negotiations between Russia and Germany, Premier George stated again the Coalition Government's war aims (page 39, above), but this statement shows that the larger part of the secret treaties between Italy, France and Great Britain for the forcible acquisition of territory and peoples from the Central Empires still hold.

Three days after this utterance by Premier George, the President of the United States again spoke and he warmly championed the Russian people's cause, which Premier George did not do; and President Wilson had this to say of Secret Compacts:

"It will be our wish and purpose that the processes of peace, when they are begun, shall be absolutely open and that they shall involve and permit henceforth no secret understanding of any kind. The day of conquest and aggrandizement is gone by; so is also the day of secret covenants entered into in the interest of particular governments and likely at some unlooked-for moment to upset the peace of the world."

In conclusion President Wilson said: *"The moral climax of this,* THE CULMINATING AND FINAL WAR FOR HUMAN LIBERTY HAS COME, *and the people of the United States are ready to put their own highest purpose, their own integrity and devotion to the test."*

This the people of the United States have been doing since April 2, 1917, and it is high time that in Great Britain, France and Italy the parliaments and the peoples shall force their Coalition Governments either to really accept the World Liberation program or retire from office!

Since the foregoing has been placed in type, the British Labor Party, in an address to the world, on January 16, 1918, approved by a delegate convention on January 23, has tremendously aided the liberal movement by declaring in detail and as follows for the United States' program of World Liberation:

That Great Britain promises (1) to help establish an effective League of Nations, along with (2) the freeing of her subject nations—captive nations, plus (3) no annexations by Great Britain, (4) no indemnity for her, and (5) that tropical Africa shall be administered by the international government.

This is the ideal.

And this has been followed in Austria by wide-spread strikes in aid of the Austrian Government's efforts to induce Germany to accept the program for "no annexations and no indemnities."

It remains to direct the attention of statesmen to the advantages to be secured in all lands from the proposed League of Nations—the ending of competition in armament and war—the establishment of INTERNATIONAL CIVIL LIBERTY.

By centering attention on this development there can be demonstrated the practicability of freeing the captive nations of all the earth. As soon

as this is grasped then one of the main difficulties in arriving at peace terms will have been overcome.

Near-at-Hand World Liberation.

Until the Entente Allies shall really stand for World Liberation they doubtless will be kept in the war. In other words, while the beings who compose the Entente Allies are free-will men and women, *God controls their environment, and by so doing can prevent the Reactionists amongst us from continuing the injustice to the people of earth, now that Democracies have been developed.* The future of mankind is secure!

A JUDGMENT DAY—NEEDED CHANGES ARE BEING WROUGHT.

But we must not become too impatient for the ending of the war, because this vast battle field is the ending of an age—the ending of the Rule of the Few (page 51, above), and at the same time there evidently is a Judgment Day for the nations—such as have not already passed through a sorrowful experience.* This World War is truly the Battle of Armageddon, foretold nearly two thousand years ago.† After the judgment day is to come peace and justice among men.* *The manifest duty of the Entente Allies is to agree to the details of World Liberation, because a stage of development is now being reached* WHERE LIBERATION IS PRACTICABLE—*mankind is evolved to the point where self-governing peoples are about to dominate the world.* THEY ARE TO WIN THIS WAR IN CONNECTION WITH A PLEDGE FOR FREE PEOPLES AND EQUAL NATIONAL RIGHTS!

Stated another way, in connection with the judgment day the Creator is producing some of the needed changes among the nations of mankind, preparatory to the coming in of the peaceful New Age. At the opening of the war some of the free-will human nationalities were out of line with the Divine plan; for example, the Prussians—they were possessed of a desire to rob other peoples; also their peasant class desired to rob the property owners at home (page 27, above). Back of it all has been a deep-seated materialism. But the war is changing these things.

And the peoples who compose the

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*Mistaken ideas and the resulting action by nations give rise to sorrowful experiences, the same as do the shortcomings of children. These sorrowful experiences by nations are not punishments, but are necessary lessons, teaching by bitter experience. Such are the Judgment Days for nations. The United States suffered terribly during 1861 to 1865; therefore she is not likely to suffer much in this World War—the war is likely to end ere long.

†"For I saw coming out of the mouth of the dragon, and out of the mouth of the beast, and out of the mouth of the false prophet, THREE UNCLEAN SPIRITS, as it were frogs; for they are spirits of devils, working signs; which go forth unto the kings *of the whole world,* to gather them together unto the war of the great day of God, the Almighty. . . . And they gathered them together into the place which is called in Hebrew Armageddon." Rev. 16:13-16.)

*And I saw an angel coming down out of heaven having the key of the abyss and a great chain in his hand. And he laid hold on the dragon, the old serpent, which is the Devil and Satan, and bound him for a thousand years, and cast him into the abyss, and shut and sealed it over him, *that he should deceive the nations no more until the thousand years should be finished*: after this he must be loosed for a little time." (Rev. 20:1-3.)

The Devil and Satan in governmental affairs is Reactionism, which in this war is to lose control of the governments of earth through the success of the Democracies.

Allies are also being shoved forward in a thousand ways.

Thus the human race is being developed. This World War is doing in a few short years what in more normal times might have required centuries.

In all of this terrible war *no one has actually been killed—merely his "overcoat" has been lost.* The consciousness has continued in the soul freed from the troubles of the physical plane. Viewed in this light one can see that the pruning of the nationalities of mankind by means of war is not annihilation. The development of races and sub-races and nationalities *is toward higher and higher stages of civilization, with the least possible discomfort consistent with the development of moral men and women.* If we accept this theory we find that it squares with that which is taking place before our eyes. The so-called evil is the result of a stage of development, to be subsequently outgrown by the soul. The mighty contest between Reactionism and Progressivism in this World War *is a contest between intelligences in different stages of development, all under a unified system on the higher planes—one God.* This unity of purpose on the higher planes accounts for the sure victory of Progressivism—the advance from age to age, a stupendous climax being the present stage wherein self-governing peoples have been coming into power during the past eighteen years and now are about to win this World War and establish World Liberation! Its coming was foretold in Revelations, as we have seen, nearly two thousand years ago. Admit the existence of supermen and still greater beings—the inevitable outcome of Development—and you possess the key to an understanding of the dazzling outcome of this World War.

This view of evolution ought to help to convince the reader that World Liberation is practicable, also to understand that *on no other basis can this war be ended!* The loving intelligence which has developed mankind to the present level can manage the next step —the attainment of World Liberation!

WHENEVER THE NEEDED CHANGES AMONG THE NATIONS SHALL HAVE BEEN WROUGHT THERE WILL OPEN UP AN AVENUE FOR THE IMMEDIATE ENDING OF THE WAR. One of the factors that will bring this world conflict to a close will be the stupendous benefits to the Central Empires from a properly constructed World Liberation program (see page 65, above). At present only a few of the statesmen of the world are convinced that the ending of competition in armament is practicable in our day, the result being that some of the Allies are planning that nothing short of the killing of another million or more of Prussians will make the world safe for mankind, to be followed by captivity for the Prussian nation. But we have shown that in Prussia the conditions are such that *whenever the proposal to that nation shall be for the establishment of an International Government to be controlled by real democracies and guaranteeing security from murder and robbery by whoever shall control the Prussian and the German governments,* THEN, AND NOT UNTIL THEN, WILL THE ROAD TO PEACE BE REACHED. See page 27, above.

In other words, whenever the Allies shall really set forth the details of the proposed World Liberation, squarely and effectively, it may be that the war will come to an end. In any event the peoples in the allied nations will then support their governments until full liberation is achieved!

Such is the Road to Victory, sure and complete!

In the words of President Wilson in the closing sentiment of his recent annual message to Congress, December 4, 1917:

"The Hand of God is laid upon the nations. He will show them favor, I devoutly believe, *only if they rise to the clear heights of His own justice and mercy.*"

ANSWERS TO OBJECTIONS AND QUERIES.

No. 1. Concerning the proposed termination of competition in armament and war, will it be wise to thus limit the survival of the fittest?

The answer is that "the survival of the fittest" means the survival of the nations and individuals *best fitted to the existing conditions.* The result of the ending of competition in armament between nations and war will be to *improve the conditions*—SHUT OUT A LOW FORM OF COMPETITION. MANKIND ADVANCES BY SHUTTING OUT THE LOWER FORMS OF COMPETITION. It used to be that dueling prevailed, but that form of competition between men has been eliminated in the advanced nations. It used to be that pirate ships competed with one another, but that form of competition is outgrown. And now the competition in building and using death-dealing weapons of war is to be ended. Progress for mankind consists in shutting out the lower forms of competition, as we have said. Because of the coming into power of the self-governing peoples and their defeat of the plans of Prussian Militarism the world is to witness a stupendous step in advance—World Liberation.

No. 2. To fight is human nature, and therefore, the plan for permanent peace cannot succeed.

We admit that human nature is such that fighting between individuals will to some extent surely go on for a considerable time. In the proposed extension of government to international affairs, the only suggestion is that real international law shall be established between nations, along with provision for the peaceful settlement of such international disputes as may arise, *thereby removing the occasion for certain kinds of fighting,* namely, the butchery of men in international wars, *leaving still in operation the other forms of fighting except as law and culture shall exclude the cruder forms.*

No. 3. The establishment of permanent peace is impossible until the CAUSES *of war are removed.*

There is a fallacy in the statement. Consider for a moment the United States. Military warfare between these 48 States is prevented by the maintenance of a system whereby the interstate disputes are *peacefully settled;* that is, an adequate system for the attainment of peaceful settlement is used, not that the *causes* of interstate disputes have been removed. A correct statement of the issue is the first requisite.

No. 4. Can we trust ourselves to an International Government?

Yes, because the first thing the representatives of the self-governing people will do will be to unite on an international constitution *providing for the largest possible degree of National Freedom along progressive lines.* That is, they will definitely mark out the inherent rights and duties of the nations of the world on the basis of equal rights, *aiming to establish the largest possible National Freedom,* AND ALL NATIONS WILL BE CALLED UPON TO MUTUALLY PLEDGE TO GUARANTEE THESE LIBERTIES. This will result in the desired civil liberties. The long-looked-for World State will have arrived! The ideal will have been achieved. All because of the coming into power of Democracy!

No. 5. What do you mean when you speak of "National freedom along progressive lines"?

The idea is that the combined nations of the world will stand for Progress. Because of this they will place in the international constitution a provision that in case of threatened domestic violence within a nation its *government* may ask the International Government for aid; also provide in the constitution that wherever a considerable number *of the citizens* ask the International Government for protection the conditions will be examined and

justice will be sustained—justice from the standpoint of self-governing peoples—real democracy. Further details are at page 35, above.

No. 6. What in your judgment are the basic elements of justice?

The maintenance of Free Institutions—freedom of conscience, free speech, freedom of the press, etc., as set forth in our Bill of Rights. These rights can now be maintained throughout the world—the forthcoming New Age! We are in a stupendously progressive age! Mankind is being pushed ahead at a remarkable pace—even China is a Republic! With the winning of this World War by the Democracies and their allies, freedom is to exist throughout the world.

Nothing less will be thought of by those who study the situation; we the self-governing peoples can establish justice and peace throughout the world, *and therefore we are going to do so!* A century ago the Reactionist Governments defeated Napoleon and *they* then combined in the so-called Holy Alliance for world domination,* whereas to-day the *Democracies* when they win this World War *will unite in freeing all of the slaves—political slaves, who have been worked en masse for the benefit of the few; also will be ended the competition in armament and war.*

*This Reactionist Holy Alliance consisted of two Kaisers and two Kings—the Hohenzollern, Hapsburg, Romanoff and Bourbon heads of families. In 1822 at Verona they entered into the following secret treaty:

"The undersigned, specially authorized to make some additions to the Treaty of the Holy Alliance, after having exchanged their respective credentials, have agreed as follows:

"Article 1. The high contracting parties, being convinced that the system of Representative Government is equally inconsistent with Monarchical principles as the maxims of the sovereignty of the people with the divine right, *engage mutually, in the most solemn manner,* TO USE ALL THEIR EFFORTS TO PUT AN END TO THIS SYSTEM OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT IN WHATEVER COUNTRY IT MAY EXIST IN EUROPE, AND TO PREVENT IT BEING INTRODUCED INTO THOSE COUNTRIES WHERE IT IS NOT YET KNOWN.

"Article 2. As it can not be doubted that the liberty of the press is the most powerful means used by the supporters of the pretended rights of nations [the people] to the detriment of those of princes, *the high contracting parties promise reciprocally to adopt all proper measures to* SUPPRESS IT, NOT ONLY IN THEIR OWN STATES BUT ALSO IN THE REST OF EUROPE.

"Article 3. * * *"

(Elliot's American Diplomatic Code, vol. ii, p. 179.)

Division V.

STILL FARTHER DETAILS.

Part I.

DEMOCRACY RESULTS IN PEACE AND PROSPERITY—HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

In the discussions which now are taking place concerning the proposed reign of Democracy, some are pointing to Lord Macauley's statement in 1857 that the rule of the majority in the United States and elsewhere "*must, sooner or later, destroy liberty or civilization or both.*" He gave France as a recent illustration of where democracy had been attempted and had failed, the situation being saved by a return of "despotism, a silent tribune, an enslaved press."

Macauley' historical example is true, but it is no proper basis for the broad generalization that all other attempts to establish a democracy must fail. He was discussing the probable future of the United States *and he predicted that evil results would follow* AND HIS FORECAST CAME TRUE. An awful civil war occurred, followed by alternating pros-

perity and depression, discontent and war between capital and labor, conquest of the Philippines and Porto Rico, also a refusal by our government to enter into a League of American Republics. What is the explanation? Is democracy a failure?

No, not if the people are *sufficiently developed* and are *properly educated and properly led.* WHAT OCCURRED IN THE UNITED STATES WAS THAT IN 1844 DEMOCRACY WAS SILENTLY ENDED IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS.

Just previous to this a gradual debasement of the average of citizenship had taken place—low immigration did the deed! And it was planned in advance by the arch-fiend of reactionism, Prince Metternich, Prime Minister of Austria. He started the work in 1828, shortly after the defeat of his plan to use force of arms in the Spanish-American Republics. In 1823 the United States had announced the Monroe Doctrine, backed by Great Britain, and they won against the so-called Holy Alliance—won without striking a blow. Five years later the Conservative Austrian Government, headed by Prince Metternich, issued a charter for the *St. Leopold Foundation,* to raise funds for inducing immigration to the United States *of anti-democratic populations.*

The plot was exposed to the people of the United States by Mr. Morse, who afterward invented the electric telegraph. He published the facts in 1834 in the *New York Observer* and there arose *the American Party, but it did not succeed,* AND IN 1844 THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES LOST SELF-GOVERNMENT IN NATIONAL AFFAIRS, FOLLOWED BY THE ANNEXATION OF SLAVE TERRITORY—MORE REACTIONISM; AND THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY AN UNJUST WAR BY THE UNITED STATES AGAINST MEXICO, AND SO ON. This we outline in the accompanying pages after first proving that democracy in the United States was a success as long as it lasted.

Democracy a Success in United States, 1776-1844.

During the years 1776 to 1844 the result from the experiment of self-government by the people in the United States was as follows:

Equal rights between families were established—*entailed estates were terminated.*

Equal rights within families were established — *primogeniture,* whereby the eldest son took practically all of the family estate, *was terminated.*

Equal rights to an education were established, *and a free public school system was founded.*

Equal rights among churches, and freedom of religious worship were established—*Church and State were separated.*

These improvements led to *equal political rights among white men*—the termination of property qualifications for voting. This took place in the east and south during 1800 to 1826. In the west white manhood suffrage had existed from the beginning.

The net result is stated as follows by the noted French historian, Alexis de Tocqueville, who visited this country in 1832-33:

"The Democratic principle had gained so much strength by time, by events, and by legislation, as to have become not only predominant, but all-powerful. . . .

"The Anglo-Americans are the first nation who have been happy enough to escape the dominion of absolute power. They have been allowed by *their circumstances, their origin, their intelligence, and especially by their morals, to establish and maintain the sovereignty of the people.*"*

In other words, the people whose ancestors were in the German forests in the days of Julius Cæsar, and who were of a new type, being possessed of great courage and of a higher morality than had hitherto existed, were, in the new world, far away from the reactionary and less advanced people, *showing forth the innate qualities of their nature, resulting in real Self-*

*Democracy in America, vol. i, pp. 67-68, Gilman edition.

Government, based, of course, upon widespread education and freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and freedom of the press.

The effect upon legislation was as follows, quoting from *Democracy in America*, by de Tocqueville:

"America exhibits in her social state an extraordinary phenomenon. Men are there seen on a *greater equality in point of fortune and intellect*, or, in other words, *more equal in their strength, than in any other country of the world or in any age of which history has preserved the remembrance.*"*

This was written by de Toqueville in 1833. In 1850, after two years of the French Revolution of 1848, he penned a preface to the twelfth edition of his two-volume work, saying:

"The principle of the sovereignty of the people, which we enthroned in France but yesterday, has in the United States held sway for over sixty years. It is there reduced to practice in the most direct, the most unlimited, and the most absolute manner. For sixty years, the people who have made it their common source of all their laws have increased in population, in territory, and in opulence; and—consider it well—it is found to have been, during that period, not only the most prosperous, *but the most stable of all the nations of the earth. Whilst all the nations of Europe have been devastated by war or torn by civil discord,* THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ALONE IN THE CIVILIZED WORLD HAVE REMAINED AT PEACE. *Almost all Europe was convulsed by revolutions; America has not had even a revolt. The republic there has not been the assailant,* BUT THE GUARDIAN OF VESTED RIGHTS; THE PROPERTY OF INDIVIDUALS HAS HAD BETTER GUARANTIES THERE THAN IN ANY OTHER COUNTRY IN THE WORLD; ANARCHY THERE HAS BEEN AS UNKNOWN AS DESPOTISM."

These splendid results flowed from Self-Government by the People. Through the use of the ballot the majority dis-established the privileges which the few had by law conferred upon themselves. Self-interest caused the majority to do this. The other portion of the legislative field—the securing of constructive legislation, was the result of proposals by the people's leaders. The people elected to office their greatest statesmen, who piloted the ship of state.

*Vol. i, p. 67.

Loss of People's Rule, 1844.

We have just quoted de Toqueville's description of the excellent results from democracy in the United States at the time he wrote, and he added:

"The principles on which the American constitutions rest, those principles of order, of the balance of powers, of true liberty, *of deep and sincere respect for right, are indispensable to all republics;* they ought to be common to all; and it may be said beforehand, *that wherever they shall* NOT *be found,* THE REPUBLIC WILL SOON CEASE TO EXIST."

Absolutely true! In the United States a change was wrought by a vast inflow of immigration from nations *whose people did not possess the development that results in self-government*—the average of our citizenship was lowered, *followed by the lowering of the system of Party Government,* AND IN 1844 THE CONTROL OF THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT PASSED TO SLAVOCRACY (page 13, above), FOLLOWED ALMOST IMMEDIATELY BY THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS AS SLAVE TERRITORY AND THERE RESULTED OUR UNJUST WAR AGAINST MEXICO; THEN CAME THE REPEAL OF THE MISSOURI COMPROMISE—A COMPROMISE IN 1820 BY ACT OF CONGRESS LIMITING THE SLAVE TERRITORY; SOON THE FEW IN THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT, BY JUDICIAL LEGISLATION, ALTERED THE CONSTITUTION ITSELF BY DECLARING BY A VOTE OF 7 TO 2 THAT CONGRESS DID NOT POSSESS THE RIGHT TO LIMIT THE SLAVE TERRITORY; THEN A LAW WAS ENACTED BY THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT COMMANDING THE PEOPLE OF THE NORTH TO HELP CATCH RUNAWAY SLAVES; THEN A THIRD PARTY WAS ORGANIZED—DUE TO THE FACT THAT THE PEOPLE COULD NOT REGAIN CONTROL OF EITHER OF THE TWO OLD PARTIES—AND THE NATIONAL GOVERNMENT WAS RETAKEN BY THE PEOPLE, FOLLOWED BY SECESSION BY MANY OF THE STATES, AND THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY CIVIL WAR,

WHICH CONTINUED FOR FOUR YEARS.

These facts are stated because today the Democracies of earth are considering the formation of the Federation of the World and should be told the truth.

During our Civil War there was no opportunity to reform the system of government, besides, there were reactionist forces in every avenue of life, woven into all the intricacies of our modern world.

In 1888 help came to us from Great Britain. One of her liberal sons, James Bryce, Member of Parliament and a noted historian, visited us and described our then existing system of debased government—Machine Rule. In his *American Commonwealth* he pictures "The Machine," tells "How the Machine Works" and in conclusion says:

"Observing the form of consulting the voters, *it substantially ignores them* and forces on them persons whom they do not know, and would dislike if they knew them. It substitutes for the party voters generally a small number of professionals and their creatures, extracts prearranged nominations from packed meetings, and calls this consulting the pleasure of the sovereign people. . . . Thus the Machine works on, *and grinds out places, power and opportunities for* ILLICIT GAIN *to those who manage it.*"

And this debased condition in 1888 was better than it had been. Again we quote from Mr. Bryce:

"To a stranger revisiting America at intervals, the progress seems to be steadily, though very slowly, *upward.*"

Note the fact that 1888 was the date. That year the reform forces in the United States succeeded in enacting a law of Congress and it was signed by President Cleveland, calling a conference of the American Republics to meet at Washington to consider how best to co-operate. But in the national election within the United States that year the winning power was Reactionism, and then through its control of the United States Government in later years it rejected the recommendations of the Pan American Conference, the conference which the reform forces had succeeded in calling. Here is one of the recommendations which the United States, the Colossus of the North, rejected:

"*The Republics of North, Central and South America* ADOPT ARBITRATION AS A PRINCIPLE OF AMERICAN INTERNATIONAL LAW FOR THE SETTLEMENT OF THE DIFFERENCES, DISPUTES, OR CONTROVERSIES THAT MAY ARISE BETWEEN TWO OR MORE OF THEM. . . . WITH THE SINGLE EXCEPTION [THAT WHEN] IN THE JUDGMENT OF ANY ONE OF THE NATIONS INVOLVED IN THE CONTROVERSY IT MAY IMPERIL ITS INDEPENDENCE. In which case for such nation arbitration shall be optional; but it shall be obligatory upon the adversary power."

This suggestion for the amicable settlement of *all* of the international disputes between the American Republics was rejected by the United States Government. This was 1890 and subsequent years.

On the more important proposal *to refrain from conquest,* THE UNITED STATES LIKEWISE REFUSED TO PLEDGE. Here is the proposal of the Pan American Conference of 1889-'90, a proposal framed and championed by James G. Blaine, Secretary of State:

"The proposed treaty between each of the American states should provide:

'First. *That the principle of conquest shall not, during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration, be recognized as admissible under American public law.*

"Second. That all cession of territory made during the continuance of the treaty of arbitration shall be void if made under threat of war or the presence of an armed force.

"Third. Any nation from which such cession shall be exacted may demand that the validity of the cession so made shall be submitted to arbitration.

"Fourth. Any renunciation of the right of arbitration made under the conditions named in the second section shall be null and void."

Not only did the United States Government *refuse to pledge* AGAINST *conquest, but a few years later, under the rule of Trustocracy,* which had just

come into power by defeating the Money Power (page 19, above), *the party "machine" reached out and by actual conquest took possession of the people of Porto Rico and the Philippines and* THEN PROCEEDED TO HOLD THEM ALL AS SUBJECTS—POLITICAL SLAVES.

Thus our Democratic Republic drifted into Imperialism. Not only did it hold subjects—refusing them citizenship and refusing a promise of citizenship—but without any special attention by our democratic republican peoples the King of the Moros sat in a harem, surrounded by chattel slaves, *all under the Stars and Stripes!*

Then five technical jurists in the United States Supreme Court, by a vote of 5 to 4, declared that the United States Constitution, *adopted by the earlier self-governing people of the United States,* AUTHORIZED THE HOLDING OF SUBJECTS—POLITICAL SLAVES! The dissenting opinions plainly describe the acts of these five judges as "judicial legislation."

Half of the world was then suffering from the reign of Reactionism. The almost continuous fall in the average of prices after 1873 in the gold-standard countries had resulted in injury to the employers of hands, and had resulted in millions of unemployed men and women. In Great Britain a Conservative Government set out to dispossess the Boers of sovereignty over their diamond mines and gold fields and finally succeeded. In Germany a Conservative Government was aided by the Socialists in keeping from power the Liberals.

Restoration of the People's Rule, 1912.

Then the tide turned and rising prices set in throughout the gold-standard world, accompanied by stimulated industry, and soon the Liberals began coming back into power, and have so continued to this day (pages 20-21, above). In the United States the re-establishment of a People's Government was on March 4th, 1913. The national leader, Woodrow Wilson, in his inaugural address, said:

"The great Government we love has too often been made use of for private and selfish purposes, and those who used it had forgotten the people. . . . *Our work is a work of restoration.* . . .

"And yet it will be no cool process of mere science. The Nation has been deeply stirred, stirred by a solemn passion, stirred by the knowledge of wrongs, *of ideals lost,* of government too often debauched and made an instrument of evil. *The feelings with which we face this new age of right and opportunity sweep across our heart-strings like some air of God's own presence, where justice and mercy are reconciled and the judge and the brother are one.* We know our task is to be no mere task of politics, but a task that shall search us through and through, *whether we shall be able to understand our time and the need of our people,* whether we be indeed their spokesmen and interpreters, whether we have the pure heart to comprehend and the rectified will to choose our high cost of action.

"THIS IS NOT A DAY OF TRIUMPH; IT IS A DAY OF DEDICATION. HERE MUSTER NOT THE FORCES OF PARTY BUT OF HUMANITY. MEN'S HEARTS WAIT UPON US; MEN'S LIVES HANG IN THE BALANCE; MEN'S HOPES CALL UPON US TO SAY WHAT WE WILL DO. WHO SHALL LIVE UP TO THE GREAT TRUST? WHO DARES TO FAIL? I SUMMON ALL HONEST MEN TO MY SIDE. GOD HELPING ME, I WILL NOT FAIL THEM IF THEY WILL BUT COUNSEL AND SUSTAIN ME!"

Far-reaching results for humanity have been achieved.

The House of Representatives continued the reforms in procedure established by the preceding Democratic House. In the Senate the Democratic majority dethroned "Aldrichism." *The caucus was substituted for the control of a small committee led by Senator Aldrich.* But the century-old system of permitting the minority in the Senate to take all the time they might wish for was continued, resulting in the defeat of many reforms passed by the House, *the Senate not having sufficient time to bring them up and pass them.* Thus the reorganization of the army in 1914 was defeated temporarily; also the enactment of a revised

corrupt practices act was defeated. An improved law against corrupt practices should have been in operation for the 1914 Congressional election but the Reactionary Minority prevented its passage. The Democratic National Convention of 1916 pledged that should the party in power be continued in office it would abolish this right in the minority to unduly delay legislative reforms.* This pledge has been partly carried out with the aid of the liberals in the opposition party. Thus the last ditch of the Special Interests is almost abolished.

Knowledge of these facts is essential to an understanding of the actions that proceed from Self-Government by the People.

In 1913 one of the first official acts of President Wilson was to issue an address to the other American Republics, warmly greeting them and pledging himself and colleagues to honestly co-operate with them as equals and without aggression. In the concluding paragraph, he said:

"From these principles may be read so much of the future policy of this Government as is necessary now to forecast, and in the spirit of these principles, I may, I hope, be permitted with as much confidence as earnestness, to *extend to the Governments of all of the Republics of America the hand of genuine friendship and to pledge my own honor and the honor of my colleagues to every enterprise of peace and amity that a fortunate future may disclose.*"

Again in a speech at Mobile, Alabama, October 27, that same first year of his administration, the President declared:

"*The United States will never again seek one additional foot of territory by conquest.*"

STEADFASTLY THE WILSON ADMINISTRATION HAS HELD TO THESE HIGH IDEALS. One of the results has been a rapid development of what is termed the *New Pan Americanism*, WHICH IS ABOUT TO MERGE INTO A REAL FEDERATION OF AMERICAN REPUBLICS.* But Presi-

*"We favor," says the Democratic platform, "such an alteration of the rules of procedure of the Senate of the United States as will permit the prompt transaction of the nation's legislative business."

*FORTHCOMING PAN AMERICAN CONVENTION.

At the time of the Second Pan American Scientific Conference, December, 1915, the Wilson Administration, through the Secretary of State, proposed to the other independent governments in the Western Hemisphere the holding of a Convention—mark you a CONVENTION, not a Conference, at which representatives of each of these independent governments shall assemble along with representatives of the United States for the purpose of mutually agreeing upon the following measures, at least:

"*Guaranteeing to each other absolutely*, POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY.

"In the second place and as a necessary corollary to that, *guaranteeing the agreement to settle* ALL *pending boundary disputes among themselves, should they unhappily arise, by patient and impartial investigation and settled by arbitration.*

"And the further agreement necessary to the peace of the Americas, that *no state of either continent will permit revolutionary expeditions against another state to be fitted out on its territory; and that they will prohibit the exportation of munitions of war for the purpose of supplying revolutionists against a neighboring government.*"

These are the words of President Wilson in an address at the closing banquet of the Second Pan American Scientific Congress, and he added: "You see what our thought is, gentlemen, not only the international peace of America, but the domestic peace of America. If American states are constantly in a ferment there will be a standing threat to their relations with one another. It is just as much to our interest to assist each other in the orderly process within our own borders as it is to secure orderly processes in our controversies with one another.

"These," continued Mr. Wilson, "are

dent Wilson's strength of character has been tested to the utmost in connection with Mexico, complicated by his being a candidate for re-election in 1916. Had he yielded to that which at one time was an overwhelming public opinion for the occupation of Mexico—a public opinion created by false information supplied by Reactionism—he would have run no risk of personal defeat.*

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very practical suggestions which have sprung up in the minds of thoughtful men, and I for my part believe that they are going to lead to something that America has prayed for for many a generation. For they are based, in the first place, so far as the strong states are concerned, upon the handsome principle of self-restraint and respect for the rights of everybody. They are based upon the principle of *absolute political equality among the states, equality of right, not of indulgence. They are based, in short, upon the solid, eternal foundations of justice and humanity.*

"NO MAN CAN TURN AWAY FROM THESE THINGS WITHOUT TURNING AWAY FROM THE HOPE OF THE WORLD. THESE ARE THE THINGS, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, FOR WHICH THE WORLD HAS HOPED AND WAITED WITH PRAYERFUL HEART. GOD GRANT THAT IT MAY BE GRANTED TO LIFT THIS LIGHT ON HIGH FOR THE ILLUMINATION OF THE WORLD!"

The delegates from Latin America were tremendously pleased. Two days later, at the final meeting of the delegates, Minister Calderon, of Bolivia, described President Wilson's policy as "a great doctrine, which excludes no man, threatens no country, but is the culmination of that great universal yearning for freedom, for peace, for justice and for amity."

*The people of Mexico are a free people to-day because President Wilson stood by his pledge—his government's pledge—to stand for equal rights and justice for the American Republics. In his annual message of December, 1915, he said:

"From the first we have made common cause with all partisans of liberty on this side of the sea, and have deemed it as important that our neighbors should be free from all outside

The year following this utterance the national campaign in the United States was largely fought on this Mexican

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domination as that we ourselves should be; this continent as a whole having been set aside for independent nations and politically free men."

In a preceding portion of his message President Wilson said:

"All the Governments of America stand, as far as we are concerned, upon a footing of genuine equality and unquestioned independence.

"WE HAVE BEEN PUT TO THE TEST IN THE CASE OF MEXICO, AND WE HAVE STOOD THE TEST. Whether we have benefited Mexico by the course we have pursued remains to be seen. HER FORTUNES ARE IN HER OWN HANDS. But we have at least proved that we will not take advantage of her in her distress and undertake to impose upon her an order and government of our own choosing. Liberty is often a fierce and intractable thing, to which no bounds can be set, and to which no bounds of a *few* men's choosing ought ever to be set. Every American who has drunk at the true fountain of principle and tradition must subscribe without reservation to the high doctrine of the Virginia Bill of Rights, which in the great days in which our Government was set up was everywhere among us accepted as the creed of free men.

"That doctrine is, 'that government is, or ought to be, instituted for the common benefit, protection, and security of the people, nation, or community;' that 'of all the various modes and forms of government, that is the best which is capable of producing the greatest degree of happiness and safety, and is most effectually secured against the danger of maladministration; and that when any government shall be found inadequate or contrary to these purposes, a majority of the community hath an indubitable, inalienable, and indefeasible right to reform, alter, or abolish it, in such manner as shall be judged most conducive to the public weal.' WE HAVE UNHESITATINGLY APPLIED THAT HEROIC PRINCIPLE TO THE CASE OF MEXICO AND NOW HOPEFULLY AWAIT THE REBIRTH OF THE TROUBLED REPUBLIC, WHICH HAD SO MUCH OF WHICH TO PURGE ITSELF AND

question and the Wilson Government was upheld at the polls.

Thus in the Western Hemisphere the system of Federal Government is about to be extended so as to form one vast Brotherhood of Republics. *It comes as the result of a return of real Democracy.* Wherever the people develop to the stage where they attain the high station of Self-Government they establish a Federation of States, with its International Government, thereby ending international anarchy. Democracies do this because they are willing to abstain from robbing weaker nations; also they possess the intelligence to realize the stupendous advantages to themselves and to all mankind by establishing real international law in place of international anarchy.

Part II.

PRUSSIAN IDEALS COMPARED.

In 1912 the then existing ideals in Prussia were described as follows in an interview by Herr Alfred Kerr, a man of letters, critic, lecturer and director of the German review *Pan.* He said:

"Most Germans do not tell foreigners the full truth, namely, that the prospect of a new war does not alarm any one. The profits are calculated: THE ANNIHILATION OF FRANCE AND AN INDEMNITY OF WAR AMOUNTING TO TWENTY-FIVE BILLIONS. You smile," he said to Monsieur Bourdon, who was interviewing him*, "that is because you don't know what Germany is to-day. It is a nation of shopkeepers; love of gain is its ruling passion; earn money, get rich quickly, is the one ideal. . . . Rather than risk a failure in business, Prussia prefers to submit to shameful humiliations; as for instance, her electoral regime, that is the question in a nut shell. So long as war for wealth is only a matter of the highest game it does not matter who the adversary is. You [France] are rich. Therefore your possessions are coveted. But I must say we gaze more towards England than towards you."

Herr Kerr also said: "There is a warlike foundation in the temperament of the race, a superfluity of animal force that requires to vent itself. *The German [Prussian] is accustomed to obey, if war comes he will blindly follow the flag.*" In the words of Bismarck in his autobiography: "The individual German [Prussian] readily obeys the command of a dynasty to harry with fire and sword, and with his own hands to slaughter his German neighbors and kinfolk, as a result of a quarrel unintelligible to himself."

As to the outcome of a war with France, Herr Kerr said: "Taken altogether, this gives us a tremendous confidence; you will not find many Germans who have any doubts as to the results of a war with France."

The Prussian type he believed would dominate more and more widely. He said: "We, like others *less advanced in civilization,* have preserved a more vigorous temperament *which makes us appear abler for resistance and more game.* . . . The German [Prussian] has arrived with more red corpuscles AND I BELIEVE HIS HOUR HAS COME. The law of life ordains that *the least strong shall be eliminated,* and the real conquerors are the famished. That is to say, we Germans. The money we have earned has given us the taste, and conquered prosperity has increased our appetite. . . . In France you are blinded by illusions. You dream; you revel in the luxury of humanitarian ideas. You believe in justice, goodness, peace, fraternity and that is a very dangerous state of things. You say, war, violence and conquest are things of the past, out of fashion, and

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SO LITTLE SYMPATHY FROM ANY OUTSIDE QUARTER IN THE RADICAL BUT NECESSARY PROCESS. We will aid and befriend Mexico, BUT WE WILL NOT COERCE HER, and our course with regard to her ought to be sufficient proof to all America that we seek no political suzerainty or selfish control."

*Published in *Figaro*, republished in *The German Enigma.*

altogether *vieux jeu*. But I answer you, WAR IS NOT OUT OF FASHION, IT'S A THING OF TOMORROW."

This was said two years before the outbreak of the World War. "Herr Alfred Kerr, after saying the foregoing, drew himself up on his low seat," says M. Bourdon, "and with his animated forefinger pointed to the solid phalanxes on the wall waving flags and firing thunder, said: 'The return of the Huns!'"

The foregoing statements were uttered two years before the Prussians started the present war. Conquest was aimed at from the start (page 26. above), and one year after the beginning the demand was for wholesale robbery (page 26, above).

This Prussian type of civilization was the result of the causes we have described. Its ideals had been deliberately instilled into its people, beginning in babyhood. Everywhere the idea of material and selfish gain for its own people has been dominant—in the schools, in the plans for German Nationalism, in a materialistic philosophy, and in a government-controlled press.

One of the results, beginning in 1847, was the ideal that the political slaves, property-less, should some day become suddenly, over-night, the ruling power in state after state and that forthwith they would confiscate in the name of the state and for themselves all of the property of those who by abstinence had saved it up, at the same time placing them in an industrial slavery and under their own domination. On the other hand, the people in Prussia *who possessed property*, looked forward to improving their own condition by forcibly acquiring more property through sending the Prussian and German armies abroad and killing many of their neighbors. Proof on this point is the enthusiasm with which they went into the present war (page 19, above). Colonies have been looked upon as being almost solely for the benefit of those who have ruled them; and foreign trade has been built up by underselling abroad and charging extortionately high prices at home.* In this way an immense national wealth has been accumulated and a considerable part of it has been devoted to the building up of armies and armament for the coming war.

The intellect in all this has largely been supplied by the few who have been developed by means of the caste system, thereby keeping comparatively pure their higher type. Training has been supplied through a carefully managed educational system, planned for thoroughness and practicability. The welfare of the state as a whole has been looked after by means of an Absolute Monarchy in Administrative affairs, which also has led in shaping the public policies. And supplementary to all this has been the existence of an Absolute Monarchy in both the State and the Church.

The basis of it all has been the un-

*The net result of the Prussian system has been that the wage-earners have been shorn of from 30 to 40 per cent. of their earnings by the monopolists, as distinguished from the capitalists. This is shown in various ways, including a comparison of wages and hours in England, where there is no tax upon food supplies nor any export bounty. (Report of an inquiry by the British Board of Trade, 1908; republished in Bulletin of the United States Bureau of Labor, March, 1911, pp. 561. 564, 569.)

And yet enough of the wage-earners *refused to co-operate with the Liberals to end the industrial monopolies!* But in January, 1912, after two years of domination in Germany by the Conservative and the Clerical parties the people in general became so incensed that for the first time in Prussian history the Liberals formed a coalition with the Socialists and elected more than a majority of the Reichstag; followed by an almost immediate disruption *owing to the criminal program of the Socialists.* THE LIBERALS WENT BACK TO THE OTHER PROPERTY-OWNERS AND TOGETHER THEIR LEADERS PLANNED THE FOREIGN WAR AND STARTED IT (page 19, above).

developed stage of the units, plus the survival of those who have been best fitted to that sort of an environment—*most of the better type having been eliminated either by being killed in battle or having emigrated.*

This World War is producing widespread changes in the ranks of the Prussian Socialists, to be followed by the formation of the Federation of the World, with its guarantee of Free Institutions! Under this world-wide rule of Democracy progressive changes will proceed, *with no possibility of reactionism as proposed by the Revolutionary Socialists.* For fifty-five years this Prussian movement among the wage-earners has been an obstacle to progress, casting its fallacious arguments across the pathway of mankind. It has bitterly fought each step of Progressivism, as history plainly tells, the capstone of its infamy being the conduct of its Prussian exponents leading up to this terrible World War! In the United States, too, the main body of the Socialists has steadfastly fought the proposed World Liberation. From this time onward the Socialist Party in the United States and in Prussia is doomed!

The social philosophy that is to last is that of Brotherhood. The basis of it is a development which has in it regard for others—love. People who have attained this stage see something of good in everything and are honest. The result is a social gospel of friendly co-operation, utilizing to the utmost the needed division of labor, in a fraternal spirit. While no one is better than another in the regard of the Creator, some are older and wiser than others and so are doing a higher grade of work. This democratic philosophy of life has been interfered with terribly by the Socialists. Their erroneous and mischief-making philosophy has arisen during the last seventy years of Reactionary Government, being part of it. In the forthcoming New Time there is to prevail more and more the Big Brother and the Big Sister idea.

Part III.

CONCLUSION—THE NEEDED ACTIVITIES.

We have surveyed a stupendously broad field, centering our attention upon the needed war aims of the Allies. A clear-cut, definite program lies before us—World Liberation, requiring World Federation upon the basis of Free Peoples and Equal National Rights.

In conclusion we suggest to you, dear reader, that you write to the President or Premier of your country's Government and endorse the World Liberation program. *Let him know your attitude as you are part of the Sovereign power.* Put yourself in his place, as it will help you to realize what it means when a conscientious public servant receives a referendum vote in a stupendous crisis like this. Be sure and write.

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